

BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN US AND THEM:  
CULTIVATING INCLUSIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS  
THROUGH GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

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Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

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by

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN US AND THEM:  
CULTIVATING INCLUSIVE ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS  
THROUGH GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

An inclusive attitude towards immigrants is a crucial attribute for students to develop, especially in a globalized world with an increasing number of international migrants and refugees. Promoting inclusive attitudes towards immigrants can not only help immigrant students feel included and succeed in schools and host countries, but may also reduce discrimination, xenophobia, and hate crimes. To this end, global citizenship education has been developed and implemented worldwide to prepare students for respectful and peaceful interactions with people from different cultures and countries. This study investigates whether global citizenship education can foster inclusive attitudes towards immigrants and examines how this relationship depends on intergroup contact at school and multicultural school climate. Using large-scale international data from the Programme for International Student Assessment and employing two-level multilevel modeling with country-fixed effects, the findings show that global citizenship education is positively associated with students' inclusive attitudes towards immigrants. Moreover, this relationship is strengthened by intergroup contact, especially when students are exposed to three types of global citizenship education. This study provides comprehensive and empirical evidence of the role of global citizenship education in cultivating inclusive attitudes towards immigrants on an international level.



## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

### **Background of the Study**

*“All students will be thrust into a diverse, multicultural world where they will need to understand the culture of those different from themselves”* (Ladson-Billings, 2021, p. 71).

Students around the world have greater opportunities to live and interact with individuals with immigrant backgrounds due to globalization and an increase in international migrants and refugees. In 2020, 281 million individuals lived in a country other than their country of birth, representing 3.6% of the global population, and almost doubling in 30 years (World Migration Report, 2021). Students and their families often migrate to other countries in search of better education and work opportunities, or to reunite with their families—often fleeing from threats of war and violence (Bartlett et al., 2018; Dryden-Peterson, 2016; Roubeni et al., 2015). However, this migration dream (e.g., the American Dream) does not always come true due to negative attitudes toward immigrants in the host country (Baysu et al., 2014; Knight et al., 2016; Turner & Mangual Figueroa, 2019). Negative attitudes toward immigrants can be detrimental to immigrant students’ academic success and psychological well-being, and are often associated with discrimination and hate crimes (Schmitt et al., 2014; Sirin et al., 2015). Although the causal direction is unclear, negative attitudes toward immigrants in the public are often used as political rhetoric to restrict policies and practices for immigrants at the school, local, and national levels (Butz & Kehrberg, 2019; Dorner et al., 2017). Moreover, in recent years, we have witnessed conflicts and tensions arising from negative attitudes toward immigrants, manifested through cases of xenophobia, racism, anti-

immigrant sentiments, hate crimes, and nationalism (Elias et al., 2021; Freitag & Hofstetter, 2022). For instance, in the United States, hate crimes against the Asian American community increased by 339 percent in 2021 compared to the previous year (Yam, 2022). Hostile attitudes toward immigrants can result in a divided society between native and immigrant groups and cultural oppression of immigrants (Banks, 2017; Janmaat, 2014).

As Turner and Mangual Figueroa (2019) stated that researchers and educators need to find ways “to prevent schools from becoming hostile environments...[and] to guide students in decoding political polarization and promoting respect” for immigrants (p. 549). A school can be a key avenue for cultivating positive attitudes toward immigrants since it is often the first place where students interact with immigrants and shape their attitudes toward them (Ülger et al., 2018). Efforts of schools to promote positive attitudes toward immigrants are important because attitudes toward immigrants are subject to change during school-age through educational experiences and can permeate into attitudes toward other groups, such as people with disability and different religions (Rutland & Killen, 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Research shows that discussions about political issues in schools help students develop positive attitudes toward immigrants (Miklikowska et al., 2022; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). Research further argues that schools “must educate students to become competent citizens of the global village” through globally oriented education to help students interact respectfully with immigrants (Zhao, 2009, p. 60). Specifically, research suggests that schools may use global citizenship education (GCE) to promote positive attitudes toward people from different cultures and countries (Choi & Lee, 2021; Ülger et al., 2018). Within the

framework of GCE, cultivating positive attitudes toward immigrants is not only for immigrant students but for all students to become global citizens who view one another as equals and learn and work with people from different countries with mutual respect in the global society, regardless of nationality and citizenship (Franch, 2020).

In 2015, the United Nations (UN) adopted *The Education 2030: Incheon Declaration* with 193 world leaders, which includes GCE within the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Its aim is to ensure that all learners develop the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary to appreciate cultural diversity and promote respect for human rights beyond national borders, race/ethnicity, gender, and religion by 2030 (UNESCO, 2016). The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) also prioritizes GCE in their work to respond to globalization and empower learners to build a respectful and inclusive society, both locally and globally (UNESCO, 2015). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) incorporates GCE and global competence within its international assessment, the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA). Since the efforts of different international non-governmental organizations (INGOs), GCE has received much attention from researchers and educators worldwide in response to demographic changes due to international migration and globalization (Franch, 2020; Goren & Yemini, 2017). National governments worldwide have also incorporated GCE into a school-wide system (Goren & Yemini, 2017; S. S. Lee, 2020; Ramirez & Meyer, 2012). GCE-related learning, topics, and issues, such as cultural diversity and immigration, are often embedded in the existing curriculum, pedagogy, and school environment (UNESCO, 2014). GCE often shares a common objective and overlapping agendas with different

fields such as inter/multicultural education, culturally relevant pedagogy, civic education, and environmental education (Barton, 2020; Dolby & Rahman, 2008; Hameed, 2022). Meanwhile, GCE further aims to reframe an educational paradigm to provide a new perspective on what citizenship means and what attributes students need to develop in a globalized and multicultural world (Tarozzi & Inguaggiato, 2018). As *global* is placed immediately before *citizenship*, GCE highlights that students develop identifications, attitudes, and behaviors not only with nation-states but also with the global community while respecting and appreciating diversity, human rights, social justice, and sustainability (Starkey, 2017; Thomas & Banki, 2021). GCE attempts to challenge the traditional conception of citizenship that was limited to a nation-state, such that human rights are extended to immigrants and refugees regardless of citizenship or nationality because they are all *citizens of the global village* (Moon, 2010; Yemini, 2021; Zhao, 2009). Students are expected to demonstrate respect for immigrants and their rights and opportunities while going beyond the simple distinction between natives and immigrants and between citizens and noncitizens (Banks, 2017; Engel, 2014).

Research has shown that GCE helps students improve their knowledge of global issues such as immigration and racism, and promotes positive attitudes towards different cultures and human rights (Besnoy et al., 2015; Reilly, 2012; Zaman, 2009). While research has explored different learning outcomes of GCE, less is known about the relationship between GCE and attitudes towards immigrants. The research gap is surprising given that GCE has been developed as a way to respond to demographic changes due to worldwide immigration, and that the model of GCE—often called global citizenship or global competence—includes inclusive attitudes toward people and their

rights, which transcend national boundaries (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Oxley & Morris, 2013). Although the outcomes of the previous literature might be a prerequisite for or related to having positive attitudes toward immigrants, the current study attempts to provide more relevant evidence on the role of GCE in embracing students with immigrant backgrounds and helping students grow as global citizens by specifically examining whether GCE helps students develop positive attitudes toward immigrants in terms of opinions about immigrants' rights, opportunities, and customs.

In addition, scholars point out that the literature on GCE has some statistical concerns regarding research design, limited sample size, and location of studies (Ahmed & Mohammed, 2022; Goren & Yemini, 2017). Many studies lack control groups for comparison and instead rely on the perspectives and perceptions of participants within the same school or program. They also fail to include key information about student and school characteristics in the analysis, which may be correlated with both students' selection for taking GCE-related learning and its outcomes. This decreases the credibility of the findings and makes it difficult to examine how student learning in GCE interacts with different factors, which fails to identify how schools could effectively facilitate student learning in GCE by providing other educational experiences from a comprehensive perspective (Chiba et al., 2021). Moreover, most of the studies in this domain are conducted in a small number of schools mainly in Western countries such as North America and Europe, while GCE has been introduced worldwide with the efforts of different INGOs and national governments (Goren & Yemini, 2017). In short, the previous literature provides insight into GCE and its different outcomes. However, to the best of my knowledge, no study has evaluated the relationship between GCE and

attitudes toward immigrants using large-scale and international data, which could be representative of a broader population and allow for accounting for a set of potential confounders and examining other factors that moderate this relationship.

Research argues that GCE is a school-wide approach rather than based on a single subject and that GCE-related learning is more effective when cohesive learning experiences are embedded across the various areas of school life (UNESCO, 2015; Oxfam, 2015). In other words, GCE-related learning is socially and culturally situated in a reciprocal interaction of students' daily activities and interpersonal relationships in a learning setting (Rogoff, 2003). Unfortunately, however, little research has been done to examine contextual factors that facilitate learning in GCE while overlooking the nature of student learning and development. Drawing on sociocultural theory combining it with intergroup contact and social referencing theory (Allport, 1954; Bandura, 1986; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978), this study proposes intergroup contact (i.e., contact at school with people including peers, teachers, and staff from other countries) and multicultural school climate as moderators between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants to fill this research gap. Intergroup contact allows students to reduce prejudices against immigrants and promote open minds and attitudes toward immigrants and their rights (Dovidio et al., 2017; Scacco & Warren, 2018). However, it does not always produce positive attitudes toward immigrants and needs a relevant learning experience that appreciates differences between people from different backgrounds and supports intergroup relationships for students to develop positive attitudes toward immigrants (Bentsen, 2021). In other words, contact with people from different countries is not simply a function of embracing immigrants and their rights but students interpret the contact situation and shape attitudes

toward immigrants in accordance with their learning (Yip et al., 2019). Intergroup contact may encourage students to perceive learning in GCE as more relevant and important to their lives. It provides students with an environment conducive to reflecting on and practicing what students learn from GCE while functioning as a moderator between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants (Killen et al., 2022).

The relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants may also depend on the extent to which schools create multicultural school climate that is shared beliefs and values of school members, which embraces cultural diversity and promotes an appreciation of differences between students (Chang & Le, 2010; Hachfeld et al., 2011, 2015; Irvine, 2003). In particular, multicultural school climate shared among teachers may play a moderating role in this relationship because students shape their normative and intergroup attitudes both by acquiring relevant knowledge through teachers' lessons and by observing teachers as social models (Bandura, 1986). Teachers not only teach GCE-related learning but also convey their beliefs and values in cultural diversity to classrooms while serving as a reference model for shaping attitudes toward immigrants (Geerlings et al., 2019; Hendrickx et al., 2016). Research shows that teachers are more likely to integrate immigrant students into their classrooms and demonstrate positive attitudes toward immigrants when they have a high level of multicultural beliefs (Hachfeld et al., 2015). The beliefs and messages that teachers explicitly or implicitly bring to classrooms may serve as cohesive learning environments where students can recognize the value of learning in GCE and shape positive attitudes toward immigrants (Geerlings et al., 2019). Drawing on this perspective, the current study proposes that multicultural school climate shared among teachers helps students to fully benefit from

GCE in promoting positive attitudes toward immigrants.

### **Research Questions**

Building on the literature and taking the above perspectives into account, I will explore the following research questions using large-scale international data from PISA 2018:

1. What is the relationship between student learning in GCE and students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants?
2. Does this relationship vary depending on whether students have intergroup contact with people from different countries at school?
3. Does this relationship vary depending on the extent of multicultural school climate?

PISA, coordinated by the OECD, is a large-scale international dataset of 15-year-old students from 79 countries and economies. While PISA's core domains are reading literacy, mathematics literacy, and science literacy, they included GCE and student outcomes related to global competence, including attitudes toward immigrants, for the first time in the 2018 cycle. Fifty-nine of the 79 countries and economies administered the questionnaires relevant to this study and will be included in the analyses. These 59 countries/economies also participated in the UN declaration, which highlights the need for research to determine whether GCE helps students develop the attitudes necessary to live in a global society. Using the PISA 2018 dataset also enables me to take into account contextual factors and control for a rich set of student and school characteristics (e.g., socioeconomic status (SES), immigrant status, language spoken at home, school type, school location, etc.), which was not the case in the previous literature on GCE.



## Significance of the Study

The main goal of the current study is to provide researchers, policymakers, and educators across countries with empirical evidence to determine whether GCE helps students to develop inclusive attitudes toward immigrants and explore the contextual factors that facilitate the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants. The findings of this study will contribute to our knowledge of the role of schools in developing inclusive attitudes toward immigrants in three significant ways.

First, the current study provides empirical and international evidence on GCE as a means of developing students' positive attitudes toward immigrants. Although GCE has been developed worldwide in response to the demographic change due to international migration and framed to educate students to have inclusive attitudes that transcend national boundaries, to my best knowledge, no study to date has evaluated the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants. This investigation is significant because cultivating inclusive attitudes toward immigrants may reduce xenophobia, anti-immigrant sentiments, racism, and hate crimes against immigrants. These conflicts may lead to greater polarization between *us* (native populations) and *them* (immigrant populations) within and across countries (Abramowitz & McCoy, 2019; Elias et al., 2021). The heightened tensions have also posed a challenge for immigrant students and their families (Jaffe-Walter et al., 2019). The current study helps us understand how schools can create an inclusive school environment in which students interact respectfully and inclusively with each other, regardless of nationality or citizenship, by focusing on GCE. Promoting inclusive attitudes toward immigrants is not only for immigrant students and their families, but it also helps all students build constructive relationships with

people from different countries, which is a key quality of global citizens in the global society. The role of schools in developing students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants will be more important because students across the world will have more chances to learn with peers with immigrant backgrounds and are expected to work with immigrants more than ever before due to international migration and globalization (Zhao, 2009).

Considering the importance of developing inclusive attitudes toward immigrants, this study provides empirical evidence of the role of schools in encouraging students to “treat them [immigrants] a [*sic*] co-responsible people, as *full* partners,” which promotes an inclusive school and society, by examining whether GCE develops students’ inclusive attitudes toward immigrants (Apple, 2014, p. 295, emphasis in original).

Second, most research in GCE has not sufficiently considered contextual factors that facilitate learning in GCE although GCE adopts a school-wide approach and student development is intertwined with social and cultural contexts in which learning takes place. Especially considering that students may reflect on lessons in GCE while interacting with people from different countries at school, this study explores whether the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants depends on having intergroup contact at school. A body of research has investigated the effect of intergroup contact on attitudes toward immigrants (Pettigrew, 2016). However, much of the research in this domain only looks at the relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes but does not integrate it with students’ learning experiences. Students’ intergroup contact at school with peers, educators, and/or staff can be a learning resource for students to apply what they learn from GCE and shape attitudes toward immigrants. However, research also suggests that intergroup contact is context-specific and can lead to less effective or even

negative effects on attitudes toward immigrants unless it is accompanied by learning experiences and environments that support intergroup relations (Bentsen, 2021; Yip et al., 2019). The investigation of whether GCE complements intergroup contact in a way that promotes inclusive attitudes toward immigrants provides implications for both school ethnic diversity and how schools help students benefit from intergroup contact. An attempt to diversify the teaching force and student body may be important for students to have positive attitudes toward immigrants specifically given that chances to interact with people from different countries are disproportionately likely to happen both within and between schools due to the homogenous teaching force, residential segregation, academic tracking, and/or ability grouping (Lewis et al., 2015; Mickelson, 2015; Schmidt et al., 2010). However, intergroup contact with people from different countries may not be simply a function of embracing immigrants, but students may need relevant educational experiences to understand and respect immigrants and their rights (Choi & Lee, 2021). This study helps us understand whether schools can help students benefit—or more effectively benefit—from intergroup contact in developing positive attitudes toward immigrants by providing students with GCE.

Third, school leaders and teachers are called upon to create quality school climate because research has shown that school climate is a key factor in student learning and development (Cornell & Huang, 2016; Sebastian & Allensworth, 2019). Although school climate is a multidimensional concept and schools are expected to adapt their climate to the cultural diversity of students, multicultural school climate has been under-researched in terms of its connection with student learning and attitudes toward immigrants (Cohen et al., 2009; Hajisoteriou et al., 2017). Multicultural school climate specifically shared

among teachers can be a crucial element in teaching students when it comes to dealing with cultural diversity and differences between people because teachers not only deliver content knowledge but also serve as a model for guiding normative attitudes toward certain groups. Research argues that we need more empirical evidence on the role of multicultural school climate in attitudes toward immigrants, as well as educational interventions and intergroup contact, to build a school-wide model that cultivates positive attitudes toward immigrants (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2019). The investigation of the moderating role of multicultural school climate in the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants provides school leaders and educators with practical implications, as well as theoretical implications for intergroup contact, for effectively designing and implementing GCE to shape positive attitudes toward immigrants from a school-wide approach. Multicultural school climate shared among teachers can be developed through different school-based approaches, such as school leadership, professional development, and professional learning communities (Choi & Lee, 2020; M. Lee & Louis, 2019; Sebastian & Allensworth, 2019). Based on the findings of the current study, leaders in education may consider not only providing students with GCE but also enhancing multicultural school climate to develop students' attitudes toward immigrants.

## CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### **Attitudes Toward Immigrants**

Attitudes toward immigrants have received great attention from researchers, policymakers, politicians, and the public media since the rapid increase in international migration throughout the world (Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). A body of research has investigated how attitudes toward immigrants are shaped in different contexts and how they affect immigrants and their experiences while measuring them in mainly two ways (Demir & Ozgul, 2019; Gallego & Pardos-prado, 2014; Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2019; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). On the one hand, research measures attitudes toward immigrants while focusing on respondents' opinions about the rights, opportunities, and customs of immigrants (Burgess & Platt, 2021; Isac et al., 2012; Janmaat, 2014). This approach views attitudes toward immigrants from an egalitarian and advocacy perspective (Caro & Schulz, 2012). On the other hand, research also measures it while focusing on respondents' anti-immigrant sentiments or resentment against immigrants (Eckstein et al., 2021; Miklikowska, Thijs, et al., 2019). This way draws from a competitive or group threat perspective that the majority group feels realistic and symbolic threats from immigrants (Berg, 2015; Blalock, 1967). In addition, research demonstrates that attitudes toward immigrants can be separated according to legal status and origin countries of immigrants and shows that attitudes are more positive toward legal immigrants and people from developed countries than attitudes toward their counterparts (Dorner et al., 2017; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014).

Despite the different approaches to the measurement, overall research shows that negative attitudes toward immigrants are negatively associated with immigrant students'

experiences. At the micro level, attitudes toward immigrants are an important indicator of immigrant students' success in schools and host countries. Exposure to negative attitudes toward immigrants is detrimental to immigrant students' psychological well-being, such as depression, self-esteem, and anxiety (Schmitt et al., 2014). It is also deleterious to immigrant students' academic success including academic motivation, academic self-concepts, and achievement (Brown, 2017). At the macro level, attitudes toward immigrants are a key proxy for an inclusive society and the social integration of immigrants in a host country. Although the causal direction is not clear, negative attitudes toward immigrants among the public are often used by politicians and policymakers to implement anti-immigrant policies and restrict immigrants' access to education, health care, and welfare programs (Butz & Kehrberg, 2019; Kehrberg, 2017). Negative attitudes toward immigrants can divide society into native-born citizens and newcomers (Banks, 2017). Negative attitudes toward immigrants have been also triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic, protectionism, nationalism, and anti-immigrant sentiments worldwide (Esses & Hamilton, 2021; Finley & Esposito, 2020). These challenges of cultivating positive attitudes toward immigrants have left questions about the role of schools in the development of attitudes toward immigrants (Ladson-Billings, 2021). The development of positive attitudes toward immigrants during adolescence is critical because attitudes toward immigrants are subject to change and can permeate into attitudes toward other domains, such as disability, age, and religion, during this period (Rutland & Killen, 2015; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Research suggests that schools play a key role in shaping attitudes toward immigrants because students spend a significant time and often interact with immigrants for the first time in educational settings (Eckstein et al., 2021; Gönültaş

& Mulvey, 2019; Ülger et al., 2018).

### **The Role of Schools in Attitudes Toward Immigrants**

A school plays a significant role in shaping students' attitudes toward immigrants (Eckstein et al., 2021; Geerlings et al., 2019; Hjerm et al., 2018; Kudrnáč, 2022; Miklikowska, Thijs, et al., 2019). Research showed that school learning that utilized discussions among students and taught cultural differences was effective in fostering positive attitudes toward immigrants (Eckstein et al., 2021; Miklikowska et al., 2022; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). In particular, Miklikowska and colleagues (2022) surveyed about 900 students in 35 classrooms in Swedish schools and found that discussion about political and global issues contributed to reducing the anti-immigrant sentiment of the students. The authors suggested that schools need to ensure that students have opportunities to engage in discussions in order to understand different perspectives and reduce anti-immigrant sentiments. In a similar vein, Torney-Purta and colleagues (2007) found that about 2,800 ninth-grade students in U.S. schools had positive attitudes toward immigrants when they studied political topics, such as the Constitution, by using nationally representative sample data from the IEA Civic Education 1999 study, which was adopted by the PISA to measure attitudes toward immigrants. In addition, Eckstein and colleagues (2021) conducted a survey of about 1,300 students in the federal state of Thuringia in Germany and found that learning about different worldviews of other countries was effective in reducing negative attitudes toward immigrants only for male students in advanced classes, but not for the other groups. This may be because students in advanced classrooms were more likely to interact with immigrant students and reduce prejudice against them.

School climate is an important factor in students' attitudes toward immigrants, although research defines school climate in varied ways (Caro & Schulz, 2012; Carrasco & Torres Iribarra, 2018; Eckstein et al., 2021; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). Gönültaş and Mulvey (2019) pointed out the importance of school climate as well as learning activities while stating that “interventions [for attitudes toward immigrants] should target fostering positive social climates of schools, where school principals, educators, and educational psychologists attend to the unique needs of immigrant and refugee children” (p. 104). Empirical studies, which analyzed cross-national data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study (ICCS) 2009—an updated version of the IEA Civic Education, investigated the relationship between eight-grade students' perceptions of open classroom climate and their attitudes toward immigrants (Caro & Schulz, 2012; Carrasco & Torres Iribarra, 2018). They found that an open classroom climate where students were encouraged to discuss different opinions with peers and teachers contributed to improving positive attitudes toward immigrants. Gniewosz and Noack's (2008) study used the same items as those in ICCS for measuring an open classroom climate and showed that it was positively associated with attitudes towards immigrants among students in 36 German schools. Eckstein and colleagues (2021) adopted the democratic concept of school climate and found that a democratic school climate that allowed students to participate in decision-making processes helped students develop attitudes toward immigrants by using data from the federal state of Thuringia in Germany. In sum, the literature suggested that a school climate that was open and democratic contributed to cultivating positive attitudes toward immigrants.

The previous literature contributes to our understanding of the role of schools in



shaping students' attitudes toward immigrants. In particular, the findings about the association of discussion about global and cultural issues with attitudes toward immigrants provide an insight into the potential of GCE in developing attitudes toward immigrants, although they are not always framed as GCE. This is not surprising given that GCE has already been embedded in schools without a specific framework or under different names (e.g., civic education, multicultural education, etc.). Moreover, research suggests that the school climate in which student learning takes place matters for attitudes toward immigrants. Despite the contributions of the literature, there is a lack of a conceptual framework that guides the implementation and development of an educational model that integrates student learning with the school contexts in which student learning occurs, in order to promote positive attitudes toward immigrants.

### **Other Determinants of Attitudes Toward Immigrants**

In this section, I will review a series of individual and contextual characteristics that are associated with attitudes toward immigrants briefly. In what follows, I will discuss the literature regarding the main interests of this study (i.e., GCE, intergroup contact, and multicultural school climate) while relating them to attitudes toward immigrants.

In terms of individual-level demographic characteristics, research showed that attitudes toward immigrants were associated with sex, SES, age, language spoken at home, and immigrant status. In general, attitudes toward immigrants are higher among females, young age groups, immigrants, and high-level SES groups than their counterparts (Eckstein et al., 2021; Gu et al., 2022; Janmaat, 2014). Language spoken at home is also an important factor for attitudes toward immigrants because it represents

immigrant status and nationality, and speaking another language promotes understanding of other countries and people from other countries (Hopkins, 2015). A study found reading a newspaper was positively associated with students' attitudes toward immigrants (Torney-Purta et al., 2007), but it may depend on the types and contents of media (Theorin & Strömbäck, 2020). The legal status of immigrants (i.e., documented or undocumented) was also associated with attitudes toward immigrants (Dorner et al., 2017; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014). At the school level, research showed that different school level factors including the socioeconomic and ethnic school composition, school location, school type, and school size mattered for attitudes toward immigrants, although their directions were not conclusive (Barber et al., 2013; Kudrnáč, 2022; Sincer et al., 2021; Stark et al., 2015; Torney-Purta et al., 2007). At the country level, attitudes toward immigrants were associated with different economic, political, and cultural contexts such as the share of immigrants, economic prosperity, labor market competition, and political ideology (Gu et al., 2022; Hainmueller & Hopkins, 2014).

## **Global Citizenship Education**

### **What is Global Citizenship Education?**

Before the era of globalization, the central mission of traditional public education was to help students become citizens of nation-states, although it remains an important goal of public education (Labaree, 1997; Meyer et al., 1979; Tyack, 2003). However, globalization and an increase in immigrants and refugees challenge the central mission of public education and call for a new notion of being a citizen that transcends national boundaries in the global community and aligns with the global village (Soysal, 1998; Zhao, 2009). As the term, *global*, is placed before *citizenship*, GCE aims to help students

expand their identities beyond nation-states toward those living in the global society while developing the knowledge, skills, and values necessary to promote inclusive, respectful, and sustainable societies (S. S. Lee, 2020; UNESCO, 2014). Some critics of GCE argue that it can weaken the national identity and citizenship of students for the sake of inspiring students to grow as global citizens (Gardner-McTaggart, 2016). However, rather than replacing "national" with "global," GCE seeks to reconcile them and help students understand the interconnectedness between local, national, and global issues, structures, and processes (Myers, 2012; UNESCO, 2015). For example, it requires an appreciation of the complexity of the interconnected world to deeply understand the Black Lives Matter movement, COVID-19 pandemic, climate change, and hate crimes against Asian people, which are local, national, and global issues. GCE, therefore, is not to replace local/national with global but to encourage students to understand complex issues and challenges of the interconnected world (Niens & Reilly, 2012). GCE also helps students become responsible citizens who recognize the values of diversity and have inclusive attitudes toward people from different backgrounds and their rights while not privileging one's culture, rights, and values over the other (Niens & Reilly, 2012). It is worth noting that the interconnectedness of the world seemingly appeared to decrease since the national borders between countries were closed due to the COVID-19 pandemic or nationalism (Esses et al., 2021). However, the pandemic, nationalism, and their consequences, such as xenophobia and hate crimes, emphasize the importance of GCE in helping students understand the interconnectedness of the world and have inclusive attitudes toward immigrants (Duarte & Robinson-Jones, 2022; Saperstein, 2022)

GCE has gained considerable attention worldwide in education policy and

academia and has been used as a catchphrase by national governments and INGOs, especially since the adoption of the SDGs by the UN in 2015 (Goren & Yemini, 2017; Suárez et al., 2009; Tarozzi, 2022). In 2015, the UN declared GCE as a means to achieve SDG 4.7 which stated as follows:

By 2030, ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture's contribution to sustainable development (p. 48).

The OECD has also emphasized the need for GCE to respond to the globalized and multicultural world and has integrated GCE into the framework of the PISA (OECD, 2018). In 2018, PISA began to collect data on GCE-related learning activities and evaluate students' global competence, which included a set of knowledge of global issues and attitudes toward immigrants. Supporters of GCE demonstrate that it is not an additional subject but a framing paradigm that reconceptualizes the notion of citizenship and appreciates cultural diversity and universal human rights in the globalized society (Tarozzi & Inguaggiato, 2018). The concepts and objectives of GCE align with those of other educational frameworks, such as inter/multicultural education, culturally relevant pedagogy, civic education, social and emotional learning, and environmental education (Akkari & Maleq, 2020; White et al., 2022). Proponents also argue that GCE applies a whole-school approach rather than a stand-alone subject because it is more effective when the values, principles, and ideas of GCE are embedded across a broad experience of

school life, although no empirical evidence that supports this argument exists (Oxfam, 2015; UNESCO, 2015).

### **Country Examples**

Aligning with the initiatives of the INGOs, countries worldwide have integrated GCE into the school-wide system including the curriculum, teaching practices, learning environments, teacher preparation, and assessment despite the usage of different terms such as global education and global learning (Duarte & Robinson-Jones, 2022; Hajisoteriou & Angelides, 2020; Li, 2021; Tarozzi, 2022). For instance, GCE has been widely integrated into the national curriculum, policy documents, and pre-/in-service teacher education across European countries (Bamber et al., 2016). The Department for Education and Skills of the United Kingdom published official guidance, *Developing the global dimension in the school curriculum*, and it included an approach that integrates GCE into the curriculum and school-wide systems. The Ireland Government also declared that all students would have access to educational opportunities to grasp responsibilities and rights as global citizens and understand their roles in promoting a more inclusive and peaceful world. In the United States, NGOs including Partnership for 21st Century and the Asia Society have made efforts to introduce and develop GCE (Byker, 2016). Some states, such as Wisconsin, West Virginia, and North Carolina, as well as the Department of Education and the National Education Association, have been represented on the Partnership for 21st Century Skills' (2014) *Framework for State Action on Global Education*. It highlighted that students were expected to develop an awareness of cultural diversity and global issues. The report also pointed out that educators including teachers and principals needed to support the development of

students by building learning environments for GCE. In addition, South Korea hosted the World Education Forum 2015, where GCE was a key agenda item. The South Korean government has embedded GCE in the national curriculum and teacher education programs (Cho & Mosselson, 2018; Pak & Lee, 2018). The Ministry of Education of South Korea has introduced the ‘GCE Lead Teacher Program’ to equip teachers with the knowledge and skills for teaching GCE. Teachers who complete this program are entitled to National Leader Teachers and are expected to carry out GCE-related learning in their schools and design GCE programs in regional districts (Pak & Lee, 2018).

### **Typologies of GCE**

GCE is broadly viewed as an educational paradigm that prepares students for the globalized world by developing knowledge of local, national, and global issues of the interconnected world, skills to communicate with people from different backgrounds, and attitudes toward diverse cultures and populations (Goren & Yemini, 2018). However, this comprehensive concept of GCE is open to different interpretations within and across varied contexts and countries and receives criticism due to its ambiguity (Oxley & Morris, 2013; van Werven et al., 2023). Research indicates that the ambiguity of GCE is the reason why the term is rarely used in classrooms, even though it is included in educational policies and discourses (Franch, 2020; Rapoport, 2010). This ambiguity also makes it challenging for researchers and policymakers to identify and evaluate the outcomes of GCE. The ambiguity of GCE mainly results from different understandings of the qualities of global citizenship. In other words, there are different perspectives on what kind of global citizens GCE attempts to produce. Scholars and researchers have developed a typology of GCE and global citizenship to respond to this criticism and

provide frameworks for analyzing the learning outcomes of GCE (Oxley & Morris, 2013; Pashby et al., 2020; Schattle, 2008; UNESCO, 2015; Veugelers, 2011). Although different labels are used across the studies, the concepts of global citizenship and GCE can be broadly categorized into three main approaches: neoliberal, moral cosmopolitan, and critical (or advocacy) approaches (Franch, 2020; Oxley & Morris, 2013; Pashby et al., 2020; Schattle, 2008).

First, neoliberal approaches to GCE are based on a free-market rationale and the development of human capital. Neoliberal approaches view GCE as instrumental in equipping students with the knowledge, skills, and attitudes necessary for the global job market (Marshall, 2011; Schattle, 2008). For example, acquiring foreign language skills and interpersonal skills can be exchanged as a form of human capital that makes students more competent and competitive in the global world. Neoliberal GCE also focuses on the potential of GCE to further the development of national economic prosperity by improving individuals' competitiveness (Gaudelli, 2009). This approach has been embedded in the national curriculum in some countries. For instance, in South Korea, a guidebook for GCE described global citizens as those who will lead the country and work in global organizations such as the UN (Cho & Mosselson, 2018). Some argue that neoliberal GCE privileges Western-style market economies and ignores the structural inequalities of the global economy (Gaudelli, 2009).

Second, moral cosmopolitan GCE derives from the classical philosophies of Diogenes, the Stoics, and Kant, which is characterized by the idea that human beings belong to the world community or global village and that moral principles must be universally applicable and accepted (Oxley & Morris, 2013). It also draws on

Nussbaum's (1996) and Beck's (2010) ideas that challenge the traditional notion of national citizenship and emphasize both common values and appreciation of diversity. Moral cosmopolitan GCE highlights that students need to have inclusive attitudes toward people from other countries and their rights, regardless of citizenship and geographical locations, because human beings are all citizens in the global village (Kester, 2023; S.S. Lee, 2020). Although some argue that the moral cosmopolitan approach may weaken national identity, advocates of this approach suggest that a sense of belonging to the world community complements national attachment because particularity is a part of universality (Papastephanou, 2008). The emphasis of moral cosmopolitan GCE on universal human rights and cultural diversity is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN and is widely integrated into the school curriculum across the world (Bromley, 2009; Ramirez & Meyer, 2012).

Third, critical (or advocacy) GCE originates from the idea that the globalized world is a project of capitalist imperialism (Swanson, 2015). Critical GCE, as a form of counter-hegemony, aims to challenge the inequality, oppression, and status quo of global structures (Oxley & Morris, 2013; Pashby et al., 2020). It critiques both oppressive power structures of global society and notions of global citizenship dominated by Western/European hegemony (Kim, 2020; Stein, 2015). Oxley and Morris (2013) argue that critical GCE is more relativistic than moral cosmopolitan GCE, as it opposes the ideas of universalism and common humanity. Nonetheless, the authors highlight that critical GCE involves support for human rights. Pashby and colleagues (2020) clarify this point by stating that "critical approaches are not simply morally relativistic but work to unsettle the hegemonic categories that normalize an inherently unequal status quo held up



by a modern/colonial imaginary” (p. 154). The literature suggests that critical GCE advocates for human rights while cautioning against uncritical acceptance of dominated hegemony and the status quo. Despite the theoretical establishment of critical GCE, research finds that this approach is the least visible practice in schools (Goren & Yemini, 2017).

### **Empirical Research on the Outcomes of GCE**

Like other typologies, research on GCE and its outcomes may not precisely align with the GCE typologies due to unclear distinctions in practice and gaps in conceptualization. GCE's multidimensional nature also leads to varying approaches and findings in empirical research on its outcomes.

A body of research has examined the role GCE plays in developing students' awareness and understanding of the interconnectedness of the globalized world and global issues (Bachen et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2011; Law & Kong, 2009; Myers, 2008; Niens & Reilly, 2012; Wood, 2014). A study conducted a simulation game in three Northern California high schools where students took on roles in different countries and learned about cultural contexts and issues of the different countries (Bachen et al., 2012). They conducted a survey and found that students who engaged in this simulation game became both more aware of global issues and interested in learning about other countries compared to students who did not engage in the game. Niens and Reilly's (2012) study employed focus group interviews to explore how students in Catholic and Protestant schools in Ireland understood GCE and global citizenship. They showed that students developed an awareness of global issues such as immigration and racism through different GCE-related learning, but often presented Eurocentric perspectives when talking

about the human rights of people in the Global South. They argued that teachers needed to be prepared to address discourses on global issues and conflicts to promote the development of students' global awareness. Wood (2014) conducted focus group interviews with students in New Zealand and found that GCE helped students recognize the interconnectedness of local and global issues, and that ethnically diverse school environments made GCE-related learning more relevant to students. Studies were conducted in different contexts and places, such as the Pennsylvania Governor's School for International Studies (Myers, 2008) and Shanghai and Hong Kong schools (Law & Kong, 2009), and they found that GCE helped students develop knowledge and understanding of global issues such as poverty, racism, and climate change.

In addition, research has investigated whether GCE helps students better communicate with people from different backgrounds and develop positive attitudes toward diversity and human rights (Besnoy et al., 2015; Hull & Stornaiuolo, 2014; Myers & Zaman, 2009; Niens & Reilly, 2012). Hull and Stornaiuolo's (2014) study implemented an online platform for communication among students in the United States and India, as an after-school program that allowed students to represent themselves and their countries. Students reported that they were able to communicate more openly with students from the other country through this platform. Myers and Zaman's (2009) study conducted a mixed-method case study to explore how native and immigrant students who participated in a 5-week international program perceived universal human rights. The study found that immigrant students had more positive attitudes toward universal human rights than native students. In this study, while native students supported universal rights, some of them expressed that promoting universal rights could be a threat to traditional

cultures. Another study conducted a pre-and post-survey with students in a Catholic school in Ohio to examine whether a cultural exchange program was effective in changing student attitudes toward different cultures (Besnoy et al., 2015). This study found that students gained an appreciation of diverse cultures and respect for different cultures by hosting student delegates from different countries such as Ukraine, Poland, Germany, and the Netherlands.

While there were few studies that looked at GCE from a critical (advocacy) perspective, the findings of Myers and Zaman's (2009) study implied that students became aware of the power structures of global society by participating in a GCE program. As one student in this study stated, “Because America has so much wealth, it’s easy for us to say, “human rights—kids can’t work” because obviously they’re surviving and their families are going to have food to eat. But in Turkey it’s like if these kids don’t work, their families are dying for it,” students recognized that universal human rights were difficult to practice in less developed countries due to economic and social structures (p. 2615).

### **Intergroup Contact**

Research showed that intergroup contact helped students to reduce prejudices against immigrants and be open-minded to them (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Intergroup contact had various forms of contact (e.g., contact in friendship, family, neighborhood, or workplace). Research found that intergroup contact in friendship was more effective in intergroup attitudes than other forms of contact as it provided more interpersonal bonds and closeness compared to others (Davies et al., 2011; Rodon & Franco-Guillén, 2014). Most of the research in the field of education relied on friendship

contact as a form of intergroup contact when looking at its relationship with attitudes toward immigrants (Bentsen, 2021; Feddes et al., 2009; Herman et al., 2014). Although some studies aimed to examine the effect of intergroup contact at school on attitudes toward immigrants instead of contact in friendship, they utilized the ethnic composition of schools as a proxy for intergroup contact, which did not ensure actual contact and showed inconsistent results (Bayram Özdemir et al., 2021; Bentsen, 2021; Burgess & Platt, 2021; D'hondt et al., 2021; Sincer et al., 2021). On the one hand, some studies found that the ethnic composition of schools was positively associated with students' attitudes toward immigrants, suggesting that students in an ethnically diverse school or classroom were likely to have more positive attitudes towards immigrants (Bohman & Miklikowska, 2021; Burgess & Platt, 2021; Janmaat, 2012, 2014). On the other hand, some research showed a statistically insignificant relationship between the ethnic composition and attitudes toward immigrants (Bekhuis et al., 2013; D'hondt et al., 2021; Janmaat, 2015) or found a negative relationship between them (Miklikowska, Bohman, et al., 2019; Vervoort et al., 2011).

In the case of intergroup contact in friendship, studies have found a positive association with attitudes toward immigrants in different countries, including Sweden (Bentsen, 2021; Herman et al., 2014), Germany (Feddes et al., 2009), and Australia (Ata et al., 2009). Research further showed that the quality and frequency of intergroup contact in friendship matter for students' attitudes toward immigrants (Bekhuis et al., 2013; Váradi et al., 2021). Despite the importance of intergroup contact in friendship, more evidence on the association of intergroup contact at school with attitudes towards immigrants is needed because schools are a primary source of social interaction and

socialization, and they can provide interventions to make intergroup contact effective in developing positive attitudes towards immigrants (Váradi et al., 2021). Bentsen (2021) further argues that using intergroup contact at school would be helpful because students do not have much capacity to choose whom they interact with at school, which may reduce self-selection bias, although he also used the share of immigrant students at school as a proxy for intergroup contact. Moreover, research suggests that we need to shed light on how intergroup contact interacts with other educational experiences to better understand the relationship between intergroup contact and attitudes (Yip et al., 2019). Nonetheless, little work has been carried out to integrate intergroup contact at school into student learning and examine the moderating role intergroup contact plays in attitudes towards immigrants.

### **Multicultural School Climate**

As Cohen and colleagues (2009) noted, “the character of school life is clearly a function of multiple dimensions,” school climate is a multidimensional concept and can be measured from different angles. While the domains of school climate are different (e.g., safety and teaching and learning), they also include a multicultural school climate that consists of shared beliefs, values, and norms among members of the school community where students from diverse backgrounds are welcomed and the cultural diversity they bring into schools is used as resources for teaching and learning (Cohen et al., 2009; Nassar-McMillan et al., 2009). Schools are expected to create a multicultural school climate to address the increasing diversity in schools resulting from globalization and migration (Choi & Lee, 2020; Hajisoteriou et al., 2017).

Among school members, research mainly focuses on multicultural school climate

shared among teachers, given the significant role teachers play in student learning, despite the use of different terms such as cultural diversity climate or multiculturalism as a dimension of school climate (Chang & Le, 2010; Gay, 2010; Hachfeld et al., 2015; Schachner, 2019). Studies in elementary schools in the Netherlands investigated whether students' perceptions of teachers' multicultural norms and beliefs were related to attitudes toward Turks and Moroccans among native Dutch students and attitudes toward the Dutch among Turkish and Moroccan students (Geerlings et al., 2019; Thijs & Verkuyten, 2012). Both studies did not find a statistically significant relationship between them. Research also explored the relationship between teachers' self-reported multicultural beliefs and students' attitudes toward refugees in Dutch elementary schools but found no significant relationship (Konings et al., 2021). In addition to attitudes toward immigrants or refugees, research showed that students' perceptions of multicultural school climate shared among teachers were positively associated with ethnocultural empathy and official grade point averages (GPA) for Hispanic students in Oakland (Chang & Le, 2010), with intercultural competence of students in Berlin and western areas of Germany (Schwarzenthal et al., 2020), and with self-reported GPA via a sense of belonging to schools for students in schools in southwest Germany (Schachner et al., 2019).

Research has also explored the relationship between multicultural school climate shared among teachers and the educational experiences and school adjustment of immigrant and refugee students, though findings have been inconclusive. A study conducted in secondary schools in New Zealand showed that students from refugee backgrounds felt included and engaged in their schools when they perceived that their

teachers acknowledged their diverse backgrounds and experiences through an online survey and semi-structured interviews with six students (Sutton et al., 2021). Research conducted in 19 schools in the US revealed that teachers' self-reported values and beliefs in cultural diversity were positively associated with academic attitudes and a sense of belonging to schools of Latino immigrant students (Brown & Chu, 2012). In contrast to this result, another study found no association between multicultural school climate shared among teachers and mathematics achievement and self-concept in mathematics of both immigrant and native students in ninth graders in German schools (Schotte et al., 2022). In this study, teachers' self-reported beliefs were used and constructed as classroom constructs, and the authors argued that school-level multicultural school climate might have led to different results because it better reflected a contextual effect of multicultural school climate on student outcomes.

The literature on multicultural school climate primarily uses students' perceptions or teachers' self-reported perceptions to measure it. However, less is known about principals' perceptions of multicultural school climate, although "one of the single most important "forces" [for school climate] is the school leader: the principal" (Cohen et al., 2009, p. 187). The way in which principals perceive their school climate and teachers' shared beliefs is a key factor for student learning and development. Principals' perceptions of school climate and teachers' shared beliefs are positively associated with both students' reading test scores across PISA 2010 countries (Dronkers & Robert, 2008) and students' reading test scores in a nationally representative sample of 10th graders in U.S. schools (Urick & Bowers, 2014). Principals' perceptions of school climate are also important for leadership practices and teaching practices of teachers (Urick & Bowers,

2011). In particular, principals' perceptions of school climate cannot be separated from how they set organizational direction and build a shared vision of what their school should be (Rigby, 2014). Such leadership practices translate into shaping teachers' beliefs and practices because principals set expectations and standards for guiding teachers on desired beliefs and practices when it comes to teaching students from diverse backgrounds (Cooper, 2009; Drago-Severson, 2012; Leithwood & Jantzi, 2006). Principals also communicate school missions and goals that align with school climate, with teachers through various ways such as formal and informal daily interactions and classroom observations (Bagwell, 2019; Goldring et al., 2019; Grissom et al., 2013; Sebastian & Allensworth, 2019). These studies suggest that the ways in which principals and teachers perceive their school climate can be consistent with each other and principals' perceptions of school climate may play a role in shaping those of teachers in different ways. However, another study demonstrates that it is also possible for school members to have different perceptions of school climate even within the same domain (Mitchell et al., 2010). Nevertheless, this possibility reinforces the importance of measuring school climate from the perceptions of different groups, especially given that less is known about principals' perceptions of multicultural school climate (Maxwell et al., 2017).

### **Research Gaps**

Although previous literature has contributed to our understanding of GCE and its impact on student outcomes, there are still some limitations and gaps that need to be addressed. Firstly, no study to date has examined the relationship between GCE and attitudes towards immigrants. Some studies show that GCE helps students have positive



toward different others and human rights. However, questions about *attitudes toward whom* and *whose human rights* are missing, though students have different opinions depending on the nationality or citizenship of the people (Niens & Reilly, 2012). GCE has been developed as a response to the massive influx of immigrants and refugees who often experience discrimination from peers at school and do not receive the same rights and opportunities as native citizens (Demir & Ozgul, 2019; Metzner et al., 2022). Students are expected to have inclusive attitudes toward immigrants regardless of which perspective of GCE is applied. Inclusive attitudes toward immigrants are critical human capital for students to effectively interact with people from different countries, given the increasing diversity in schools and workplaces. Treating others as equals regardless of nationality and citizenship is an essential principle of GCE from a moral perspective. Although critical GCE challenges the taken-for-granted beliefs in universal human rights, it advocates for human rights and equal opportunities and challenges social injustice and inequality, particularly against immigrants. Investigating the role of GCE in attitudes towards immigrants is essential in promoting the social integration of immigrants into schools and host societies and helping students become global citizens who respectfully interact with immigrants, particularly given the current anti-immigrant sentiments and xenophobia worldwide.

Second, previous literature on GCE has limitations in terms of the limited applicability of the findings to broader contexts. Additionally, there are statistical concerns resulting from a small number of samples and a lack of both control groups and information on student and school-level characteristics. Despite GCE's worldwide implementation and the increase in immigrants and refugees, there is no international

empirical evidence on the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants. While the findings of some case studies on GCE and its outcomes provide important implications, we need empirical evidence from an international perspective that can be applied to broader contexts and locations, considering that GCE has been adopted and implemented as a global policy agenda by different INGOs and national governments. Furthermore, the integration of immigrants into schools and society and anti-immigrant sentiments and xenophobia are challenging issues not only for some Western countries but also for countries worldwide due to the increase in international migration and globalization. The limited number of samples and lack of rigorous research design in the literature also call for more rigorous analysis to provide more reliable evidence on GCE and its outcomes (Ahmed & Mohammed, 2022).

Third, previous research does not sufficiently examine contextual factors that facilitate learning in GCE while overlooking the fact that GCE is a school-wide approach and student learning is socially and culturally situated within a wide range of school life. This gap can be a challenge for researchers to analyze GCE and its outcomes from a comprehensive perspective and for educators to design and implement GCE in an effective way by utilizing different school experiences (Chiba et al., 2021; Goren & Yemini, 2017). This gap also makes it difficult to better understand the association of GCE with students' attitudes toward immigrants because attitudes toward immigrants are a complex concept and are shaped by different cultural and social contexts of schools. To fill this gap in the literature, this study proposes an examination of the relationship between GCE and students' attitudes toward immigrants by using large-scale and international data while taking into account intergroup contact and multicultural school

climate as moderators in this relationship.

### **Theoretical Framework**

The current study integrates sociocultural theory with intergroup contact theory and social referencing theory to explain how students' attitudes toward immigrants can be shaped by GCE, intergroup contact, multicultural school climate, and their interactions (Allport, 1954; Bandura, 1986; Rogoff, 2003; Vygotsky, 1978). According to sociocultural theory, social and cultural contexts are essential to understanding human development, which occurs across different learning opportunities (Rogoff, 2003). Learning is a reciprocal interaction between learners and daily activities and settings in which learners engage (Minick, 1987). Although instruction at schools is key for student learning and development, the effectiveness of instruction depends on students' proximal developmental processes under the guidance of teachers and interpersonal relationships with peers (Poehner, 2008). To better understand student development, it is necessary to consider the interpersonal and cultural aspects of schools, which cannot be separated from student learning (Rogoff, 2003; Vélez-Agosto et al., 2017). Building on this framework, this study proposes intergroup contact as an interpersonal aspect and multicultural school climate as a cultural aspect of schools, both of which may function as moderators between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants.

#### **Intergroup Contact as a Moderator**

Since Allport's (1954) classic work, a body of research has examined whether intergroup contact helps to increase positive intergroup attitudes including those toward immigrants (Dovidio et al., 2017; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Váradi et al., 2021). Intergroup contact theory suggests that intergroup contact reduces prejudice against out-

group members and ultimately improves attitudes toward them (Ramiah & Hewstone, 2013). The original version of intergroup contact theory argues that intergroup contact needs to occur in optimal conditions to produce positive intergroup attitudes: equal status, cooperation, common goals, and institutional support (see Pettigrew, 2016). Pettigrew and Tropp's (2008) meta-analysis shows that intergroup contact is more effective in developing positive intergroup attitudes with these conditions although they are complementary but not necessary to result in positive outcomes. Intergroup contact may facilitate students' learning experiences in GCE and the development of positive attitudes toward immigrants as it helps students reduce prejudice against immigrants and understand people from different backgrounds (Dovidio et al., 2017; Scacco & Warren, 2018). GCE aims not only to impart content to students but also to promote attitudes that encourage respectful and appreciative interactions with people from diverse backgrounds. Intergroup contact theory highlights that intergroup contact needs to occur within cohesive learning experiences that appreciate differences to effectively develop positive attitudes toward immigrants (Allport, 1954). Considering the importance of contexts in which intergroup contact occurs in the development of attitudes toward immigrants, scholars argue that "there is a need for further understanding of how different factors work together and influence interethnic relationships" (Gönültaş & Mulvey, 2019, p. 102). Intergroup contact especially at school is not decontextualized interpersonal relations but occurs within the school contexts in which students are exposed to GCE. Taking into account these perspectives, the current study proposes that students interpret intergroup contact at school in a more positive way for attitudes toward immigrants when they are exposed to GCE-related learning because students can apply learning in GCE to

their intergroup contact (Killen et al., 2022; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). In other words, intergroup contact may provide students with opportunities to reflect on and practice what they have learned in GCE and may encourage students to perceive what they have learned in GCE as more relevant and meaningful to their real lives and to develop positive attitudes toward immigrants based on what they have learned in GCE.

### **Multicultural School Climate as a Moderator**

Multicultural school climate may have a potential impact on the extent of the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants. GCE may be more successful in developing positive attitudes toward immigrants when it takes place in a multicultural school climate that shares the beliefs and values of the school members, which embraces cultural diversity and promotes an appreciation of differences (Hachfeld et al., 2011). In particular, the multicultural school climate shared among teachers may play a significant moderating role in the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants because students shape attitudes toward certain groups by acquiring relevant knowledge through teachers' lessons and by observing important others, such as teachers (Bandura, 1986). Teachers serve as a source of imitation and a social model for students when it comes to shaping attitudes toward immigrants (Farmer et al., 2011; Hendrickx et al., 2016). Such a role of teachers as a reference model is salient, especially when dealing with unfamiliar settings, including interacting with people from other countries and shaping attitudes toward them, because students have limited information and direct experiences (Geerlings et al., 2019; Walden & Ogan, 1988). Teachers play a role in shaping students' attitudes toward immigrants not only by teaching content about cultural diversity and different perspectives but also by conveying "what 'ought to be done' when

it comes to dealing with cultural ‘others’” (Geerlings et al., 2019, p. 90). Teachers convey their beliefs in cultural diversity to classrooms when teaching students. Taking these frameworks into account, the current study assumes that the effect of GCE on attitudes toward immigrants would be greater when students learn GCE in multicultural school climate shared among teachers. This assumption aligns with the whole-school approach of GCE which emphasizes that GCE needs to carry out in the various areas of school contexts that align with the principles and values of GCE (Marshall, 2007; Oxfam, 2015). For GCE to be more effective in developing positive attitudes toward immigrants, schools may need to create multicultural school climate that supports cultural diversity and promotes understanding of different perspectives.

## CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

### **Data and Sample**

This study used data from PISA 2018 organized by OECD, which provided information at both the student and school levels. Approximately 710,000 students completed the survey, representing 31 million 15-year-olds in schools of the 79 participating countries and economies. Although the PISA mainly collects data on the core school subjects such as reading, mathematics, and science, the PISA 2018 also collects data about GCE and different aspects of global competence, including attitudes toward immigrants, while being aware that students should benefit from a multicultural and globalized society (OECD, 2020). PISA 2018 includes information on student backgrounds and school information, as measured through the principal survey. Among the participants, 59 countries/economies administered the questionnaire about GCE, attitudes toward immigrants, and multicultural school climate and participated in the UNESCO declaration. This study analyzed data from 456,035 students in 16,543 schools from 59 countries/economies. The participating countries are listed in Appendix 1.

The PISA 2018 utilized a two-stage stratified sampling procedure to provide representative data from the target population (OECD, n.d.). In the first stage, about 150 schools that provided education for 15-year-olds were selected using probability proportional to size sampling, where larger schools had a greater chance to be sampled within each country. In the second stage, about 42 15-year-old students in each sampled school were selected with equal probability in the case of the computer-based assessment, but for schools with fewer than the target number, all students were selected. PISA provides weights to address potential biases because of unequal selection probabilities.

Following the recommendations of the PISA technical report and cross-national studies (Jerrim et al., 2017; Luschei & Jeong, 2018; OECD, n.d.), the current study used the senate weight, where the sum of the weights for each country was the same, to avoid the unequal contribution of the participating countries to the analysis because this study analyzed data across countries. With the senate weight, each country contributed equally to the estimates of this study, regardless of the sample size.

## **Measures**

### **Dependent Variable**

*Attitudes Toward Immigrants (Level 1)* I used a scale of attitudes toward immigrants, which was constructed by the PISA 2018. The PISA 2018 verified the internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach's Alpha coefficient) and cross-country comparability (i.e., measurement invariance test across countries and languages within a country) of the scale to ensure that the latent construct was a common dimension and consistent across the participating countries (OECD, n.d.). Cronbach's Alpha coefficients ranged from 0.7 to 0.94 across countries. Students were asked four questions about their attitudes toward immigrants, which focused on immigrants' rights, opportunities, and customs. The example items were as follows: "*immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have*" and "*immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle.*" The response format was a 4-Likert scale: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree; a high score indicated positive attitudes toward immigrants.

### **Main Independent Variables**

*GCE (Level 1)* This study created three dummy variables that indicate the number of



GCE learning activities at school, ranging from one type of GCE activity to three types of GCE activities. A reference group is students who were not exposed to any of them. This study uses a set of dummy variables instead of making a composite score because its effect might not change in a linear way as the number increases. The items asked whether students were exposed to the following GCE learning activities at school: “*I learn about different cultures*”, “*I learn how people from different cultures can have different perspectives on some issues*” and “*I learn how to communicate with people from different backgrounds.*”

***Intergroup Contact (Level 1)*** I used a dichotomous variable indicating whether students had contact with people from other countries at school. It can be contact with peers, teachers, staff, and/or principals who were from different countries. The response was 1 (yes) or 2 (no), but I recorded the response for easy interpretation (1= yes, 0= no).<sup>1</sup>

***Multicultural School Climate (Level 2)*** I used a scale of multicultural school climate constructed by the PISA 2018. The scale was assessed for internal consistency and cross-country comparability. Cronbach's Alpha coefficients ranged from 0.73 to 0.98 across countries. Principals were asked to report the extent of shared multicultural beliefs among teachers in their schools, using four items such as “*it is important for students to learn that people from other cultures can have different values*” and “*in the classroom, it is important that students of different origins recognise the similarities that exist between them.*” Each item used a 4-Likert scale ranging from "shared among none or almost none of them" to "shared among all or almost all of them". A high score on the scale indicates

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the variable used in this study for intergroup contact does not have more detailed information on intergroup contact (e.g., frequency and quality of contact). Despite this limitation, using this variable for intergroup contact is unique because the previous literature mainly uses the share of immigrants as a proxy for intergroup contact at school, which does not ensure actual contact.

a high level of multicultural school climate shared among teachers.

### **Student Level Characteristics**

Student characteristics (i.e., SES, sex, immigrant status, language spoken at home, and use of media) are included in the model to control for potential confounders at the student level based on the literature (Geerlings et al., 2019; Hjerm et al., 2018; Kudrnáč, 2022; Theorin & Strömbäck, 2020). This study uses a composite index of students' SES, which was constructed by PISA and labeled as the economic, social, and cultural status. Three indicators were used to calculate this index: the highest education level of parents, occupational status of parents, and home possessions. For sex, a binary variable is included in the model: 1= female, 0= male. For immigrant status, PISA creates a binary variable based on the following criteria: first-generation immigrants who were born outside the country of assessment and whose parents were also born in another country and second-generation immigrants who were born in the country of assessment but whose parents were born in another country are coded as 1; native students who had at least one parent born in the country are coded as 0. This variable is widely used for indicating immigrant status by the literature in the context of the PISA (e.g., Delprato & Chudgar, 2018; Schachner et al., 2017). However, it may be problematic to solely rely on this variable for capturing immigrant status due to its limitation. For example, students who were born in the country of assessment but had at least one parent born in another country may have an immigrant experience and background, although they are defined as native students by the PISA. In such cases, students born in the host country may speak a foreign language at home due to their families' immigrant backgrounds, which is not identified as immigrant students by the variable. Therefore, this study uses language

spoken at home as another proxy for immigrant status to complement the measurement of immigrant status. For language spoken at home, a binary variable is included in the model: 1= different language spoken at home from the language of the PISA test, 0= same language spoken at home as the language of the PISA test. Lastly, based on the literature on the relationship of the use of media with attitudes toward immigrants (Theorin & Strömbäck, 2020; Torney-Purta et al., 2007), two continuous variables of the use of media (i.e., reading a newspaper and reading online news) are included in the analyses, separately: a high score indicates more frequent reading of a newspaper and online news.

### **School Level Characteristics**

Based on the literature, this study also includes a variety of information on the school-level characteristics, which were responded to by a school principal (Hjerm et al., 2018; Kudrnáč, 2022). Continuous school-level characteristics are included in the model: the percentage of students from socioeconomically disadvantaged homes, the percentage of students whose heritage language was different from the test language, and the natural log of school enrollment size—due to its highly positive skewness. In addition, schools are categorized as private (1) or public (0). Separate dummy variables for school location are included: town (3,000 to 100,000 people) and city (over 100,000 people) with rural (fewer than 3,000 people) as the reference group. Detailed information on the variables used in this study is represented in Table 1.

**Table 1***Description of the Variables in the Present Study*

Variable name	Description	Source
<b>Dependent variable</b>		
Attitudes toward immigrants	A continuous variable indicating students' attitudes toward immigrants. The following four items, each with a 4-Likert scale, were used to construct this variable: 1) Immigrant children should have the same opportunities for education that other children in the country have; 2) Immigrants who live in a country for several years should have the opportunity to vote in elections; 3) Immigrants should have the opportunity to continue their own customs and lifestyle; 4) Immigrants should have all the same rights that everyone else in the country has.	Student survey
<b>Main independent variables</b>		
Global citizenship education	Three dummy variables indicating the number of types of GCE to which students were exposed at school, ranging from one to three types of GCE learning; a reference group is none of them. The items include a) I learn about different cultures; b) I learn how people from different cultures can have different perspectives on some issues; c) I learn how to communicate with people from different backgrounds.	Student survey
Multicultural school climate	A continuous variable indicating multicultural school climate. A principal was asked to rate the extent of shared multicultural beliefs among teaching staff. The four items, each with a 4-Likert scale (1= shared among none or almost none of them to 4= shared among all or almost all of them), were used: 1) it is important for students to learn that people from other cultures can have different values; 2) respecting other cultures is something that students should learn as early as possible; 3) in the classroom, it is important that students of different origins recognize the similarities that exist between them; 4) when there are conflicts between students of different origins, they should be encouraged to resolve the argument by finding common ground.	Principal survey
Intergroup contact	A dichotomous item that asked students whether they had contact with people from other countries at school; 1= yes, 0= no.	Student survey

Variable name	Description	Source
<b>Control variables</b>		
<i>Student level</i>		
Socioeconomic status	A composite index of economic, social, and cultural status, calculated by OECD based on three indicators: highest parental occupation, parental education, and home possessions.	Student survey
Sex	A binary variable indicating students' sex; 1= female, 0= male.	Student survey
Immigrant status	A binary variable indicating whether a student has an immigrant background; 1= a student with immigrant background, 0= a student with non-immigrant background.	Student survey
Language spoken at home	A binary variable indicating whether a student speaks different languages at home from those of the PISA test; 1= different language from the test, 0= same language as the test.	Student survey
Reading newspaper	A continuous variable indicating how frequently a student reads a newspaper; 1= never or almost never, 2= a few times a year, 3= about once a month, 4= several times a month, 5= several times a week.	Student survey
Reading online news	A continuous variable indicating how frequently a student reads online news; 1= I don't know what it is, 2= never or almost never, 3= several times a month, 4= several times a week, 5= several times a day.	Student survey
<i>School level</i>		
School type	A binary variable; 1= public school, 0= private school.	Principal survey
School location	A series of dummy variables; town (3,000 to 100,000 people) and city (over 100,000 people); the reference group= rural area (fewer than 3,000 people).	Principal survey
Proportion of low SES students	The proportion of students from socioeconomically disadvantaged homes.	Principal survey
Proportion of second-language students	The proportion of students whose heritage language is different from the test language.	Principal survey
School size	A total number of students in a school.	Principal survey

## Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics of the variables used in this study are presented in Table 2. It draws from an original PISA dataset and includes the mean, standard deviation (SD), minimum and maximum value for each variable. The descriptive statistics showed that 17%, 24%, and 49% of the students were exposed to one, two, and three types of GCE, respectively. About 10% of them did not take any of them. Roughly half of the students had contact with people from other countries at school.

**Table 2**

*Descriptive Statistics*

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max
<b>Dependent variable</b>				
Inclusive attitudes toward immigrants	0.01	0.96	-2.26	1.50
<b>Main independent variables</b>				
One global citizenship education (%)	0.17	-	0.00	1.00
Two global citizenship education (%)	0.24	-	0.00	1.00
Three global citizenship education (%)	0.49	-	0.00	1.00
Intergroup contact (%)	0.53	-	0.00	1.00
Multicultural school climate	-0.08	1.07	-4.59	1.29
<b>Student characteristics</b>				
Socioeconomic status	-0.38	1.13	-8.17	4.04
Female (%)	0.50	-	0.00	1.00
Immigrant status (%)	0.09	-	0.00	1.00
Different language spoken at home (%)	0.16	-	0.00	1.00
Reading newspaper	2.36	1.40	1.00	5.00
Reading online news	3.65	1.16	1.00	5.00
<b>School characteristics</b>				
School type (%)	0.17	-	0.00	1.00
School location	2.12	0.84	1.00	3.00

Proportion of low SES students	18.85	30.87	0.00	100.00
Proportion of second-language students	24.77	25.81	0.00	100.00
School size (log)	6.45	0.84	0.00	9.39

### Missing Data

Like other international and national datasets, the PISA 2018 included missing data at both the student and school levels, which decreases the sample size and may induce biased estimates without proper adjustment for the missing data. The percentage of missing data ranged from 0% (gender) to 22% (GCE). The percentage of complete data used in this study was 50%.

The current study used the multiple imputation technique to maximize the use of the data and minimize bias in estimates while accounting for the multilevel structure (Rubin, 1987; Schlomer et al., 2010). It is necessary to account for the nested data structure to conduct multiple imputation in multilevel data (Hayes, 2019). Imputed data based on a single-level regression without accounting for multilevel data structure produces biases in further analyses. The study used the *Blimp* software application to impute missing data while addressing the nested data structure (Enders et al., 2018). The study imputed missing values for both dependent and independent variables based on literature that suggests excluding the dependent variable from the imputation model can produce biased estimates (Graham, 2009). The *Blimp* software handles binary and categorical variables appropriately and creates only an integer score within the range of original values, but for continuous variables, the range of imputed data is not restricted as constraining the range of imputed values leads to biased estimates (Enders, 2022; Rodwell et al., 2014). Based on the guidelines of Graham and colleagues (2007), the

current study generated 50 imputed datasets. The regression results from the imputed datasets were combined using Rubin's (1987) rule to pool results from multiple imputed datasets and incorporate both the within and between imputation variance of the estimates by using the *mitml* package in R 4.2.2 (Grund et al., 2021; R Core Team, 2018).

### **Analytic Approach**

The PISA 2018 has a nested data structure: students are nested within schools. Students who are nested within the same school are likely to be correlated with each other for a variety of reasons (e.g., teachers, curriculum, school policies, community, etc.), which violate the assumption of independence of observations (Finch et al., 2019). This within-group correlation may lead to underestimated standard errors and increase the probability of Type I error—a false rejection of the null hypothesis (Hox et al., 2017). To account for the nested data structure, this study used multilevel modeling, with level 1 representing students and level 2 representing schools (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). This study also used a country fixed effects model to account for any variability at the country level instead of using a three-level model. This is because the focus of this study is not on the country level but on providing general results of this study across the participating countries and because it is practically impossible to control for all potential confounders at the country level with a three-level model (Hanushek et al., 2013; Huang, 2016). Thus, the estimates in this study come from within-country variation.

This study used R 4.2.2 for data management and analyses and the *lmer* function for the multilevel analysis with full maximum likelihood estimation (FML) because this estimation performs well with large samples and group sizes and allows for model comparisons (Bates et al., 2022; Boedeker, 2017). The outcome variable, multicultural



school climate, and SES are standardized to have a mean of 0 and a standard deviation (SD) of 1 within each country before being added to the analyses. It allows the parameter estimates to be interpreted as standardized regression coefficients. The other continuous variables and dummy variables used in this study are not standardized because their original scales are more intuitive for interpretation. Although this study refers to Cohen's (1992) *d* for interpretation (0.20= small, 0.50= medium, and 0.80= large effect sizes), I do not solely rely on it because interpreting effect sizes should be context-specific and depend on outcomes and because a small effect size may be medium or large at a group level analysis (Hedges, 2008; Kline, 2020). Based on recent literature (Wasserstein et al., 2019; Wolf & Harbatkin, 2022), this study interprets the results of this study by comparing them with those of meta-research and other studies about attitudes toward immigrants.

Before the main analyses, this study specifies the null model (i.e., a model without predictors) to compute the intraclass correlation coefficients (ICCs) for the dependent variable and determine how much variance existed at the school level. For the main analyses of this study, a set of multilevel models is designed to examine the research questions. In Model 1, all individual level predictors including the key independent variables (i.e., GCE and intergroup contact) are included with country-fixed effects. In Model 2, all school level predictors, including multicultural school climate, are included while maintaining consistency with the previous setting. The basic level 1 and level 2 and combined formulas can be expressed as:

Level 1:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{0j} + \beta_{1j}GCE + \beta_{2j}IC + \beta_{3j}ST + \varepsilon_{ij} \quad (1)$$

Level 2:

$$\beta_{0j} = (\alpha_0 + \alpha_2 \text{Country}_2 + \dots + \alpha_{59} \text{Country}_{59}) + \gamma_{01} \text{MSC} + \gamma_{02} \text{SC} + \mu_{0j}$$

$$\beta_{1j} = \gamma_{10} \dots \beta_{3j} = \gamma_{30} \quad (2)$$

Combined Form:

$$Y_{ij} = (\alpha_0 + \alpha_2 \text{Country}_2 + \dots + \alpha_{59} \text{Country}_{59}) + \gamma_{10} \text{GCE}_{ij} + \gamma_{20} \text{IC}_{ij} + \gamma_{30} \text{ST}_{ij}$$

$$+ \gamma_{01} \text{MSC}_j + \gamma_{02} \text{SC}_j + \varepsilon_{ij} + \mu_{0j} \quad (3)$$

Where  $Y_{ij}$  is the outcome variable of student  $i$  in school  $j$ ;  $\text{GCE}_{ij}$  is three dummy variables indicating the number of types of GCE to which students are exposed at school (from one to three types of GCE compared to none of them);  $\text{IC}_{ij}$  is a dummy variable indicating whether student  $i$  in school  $j$  has contact at school with people from other countries;  $\text{ST}_{ij}$  is a vector of student characteristics including immigrant backgrounds, SES, sex, language spoken at home, and use of media;  $\text{MSC}_j$  is a continuous variable representing the level of multicultural school climate in school  $j$ ;  $\text{SC}_j$  is a vector of school characteristics including the proportion of low-SES, the proportion of second-language students, location, school type, and school size;  $u_{0j}$  and  $r_{ij}$  are residual error terms at the school and student level, respectively. Instead of a typical intercept of a multilevel model ( $\gamma_{00}$ ), a set of dummy coded country variables are added to absorb any heterogeneity at the country level so that  $\alpha_0$  indicates the average value of the outcome variable of the reference country while the coefficients of each dummy coded country indicate the difference between the average of each country in comparison to the reference country (Huang, 2016). A set of the coefficients of each country dummy is not reported because they are not an interest of this study.

Before testing the interaction between GCE and intergroup contact and between

GCE and multicultural school climate, this study adds random slopes to determine if there is cluster-specific variation in the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants across schools (Aguinis et al., 2013; Finch et al., 2019). This study includes random slopes on the individual level component of the cross-level interaction (between GCE and multicultural school climate) because the exclusion of random slope on lower level components of the cross-level interaction introduces biases in estimates (Heisig & Schaeffer, 2019). This study determines whether the random slope model is preferred over the random intercept only model by using the likelihood ratio test (LRT) statistic. After the LRT statistic, in Model 3, this study adds a series of two-way interaction terms between each dummy GCE and intergroup contact (3×1) and between each dummy GCE and multicultural school climate (3×1) to the random slope model. The final model formular can be expressed as:

Final Model:

$$Y_{ij} = (\alpha_0 + \alpha_2 \mathit{Country}_2 + \dots + \alpha_{59} \mathit{Country}_{59}) + \gamma_{10} \mathit{GCE}_{ij} + \gamma_{20} \mathit{IC}_{ij} + \gamma_{30} \mathit{ST}_{ij} + \gamma_{40} \mathit{GCE}_{ij} \times \mathit{IC}_{ij} + \gamma_{01} \mathit{MSC}_j + \gamma_{02} \mathit{SC}_j + \gamma_{11} \mathit{GCE}_{ij} \times \mathit{MSC}_j + \varepsilon_{ij} + \mu_{0j} + \mu_{1j} \mathit{GCE} \quad (4)$$

In the final model (Model 3), the interaction terms  $\gamma_{40}$  and  $\gamma_{11}$ , as well as the random slope component  $\mu_{1j}$ , are added to Model 2 to answer research question 2 and 3.

## CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

Before conducting the main analyses, this study computed the ICC to determine how much variance in the dependent variable existed at the group levels using an unconditional model. The results of three-level null model showed that the ICCs were 0.086 and 0.109 at the school and country levels, respectively, indicating that approximately 8.6% and 10.9% of the total variance in the dependent variable was attributable to differences between schools and countries. This highlighted the need to account for the clustering effect of students nested within schools and countries (Huang, 2016). Thus, this study used two-level multilevel modeling (students nested within schools) and country-fixed effects to account for clustering effect at the school and country level.

### **Research Question 1**

Research Question 1 of this study aimed to evaluate the relationship between GCE and students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. As shown in Model 1 of Table 3, the results indicated a positive association between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants while controlling for the various student characteristics. This study found that students who were exposed to one, two, and three types of GCE tended to have more inclusive attitudes toward immigrants compared to none of them ( $b = 0.068, 0.133, \text{ and } 0.267$ , respectively,  $p < .001$ ). The effect size did not increase linearly. Up to two GCE, the effect size per GCE activity was approximately  $0.067 \sim 0.068$  SD. However, the effect size of three GCE ( $0.267$  SD) was greater than three times that of one GCE ( $0.204$  SD)—or greater than three times of half of the effect size of two GCE—meaning that it resulted in an additional gain ( $0.063$  SD) when students took three GCE. On average, students

who were exposed to three GCE had 0.267 SD more inclusive attitudes toward immigrants than those exposed to none of them, indicating a small to medium effect size. This finding was exceptional as Ülger and colleagues' (2018) meta-analytic study about attitudes toward outgroup members concluded that previous literature did not find statistically significant evidence of the effectiveness of educational interventions in school settings in improving the attitudes (0.25 SD). In Model 2, the estimates for the relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants rarely changed after adjusting for the school characteristics, such as size, location, and proportion of immigrant students.

As shown in Model 2, this study was unable to find a statistically significant relationship between intergroup contact and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants, and the difference was negligible ( $b= 0.006, p> .05$ ). The results of Model 2 showed that multicultural school climate was positively associated with inclusive attitudes toward immigrants ( $b= 0.013, p< .001$ ). On average, inclusive attitudes toward immigrants increased by 0.013 SD as multicultural school climate increased by a SD, which was marginal.

Although the student and school characteristics were included as the controls, this study summarized the results of them for a better understanding of how students' inclusive attitudes were related to different demographics and backgrounds. As shown in Model 2 in Table 3, inclusive attitudes toward immigrants were higher when students were identified as female ( $b= 0.242, p< .001$ ) and immigrants ( $b= 0.173, p< .001$ ) than their counterparts and when they had higher levels of SES ( $b= 0.054, p< .001$ ) and read online news more frequently ( $b= 0.051, p< .001$ ). Inclusive attitudes toward immigrants

were lower when students used different languages at home from the language of the test than those who used the same language at home as the language of the test ( $b = -0.018, p < .01$ ) and read a newspaper more frequently ( $b = -.004, p < .01$ ). In terms of the school level characteristics, on average, students in schools that were public ( $b = 0.044, p < .001$ ) and located in town and city ( $b = 0.021, p < .01$ ;  $b = 0.053, p < .001$ , respectively, compared to rural), and with larger school enrollment ( $b = 0.029, p < .001$ ), had a higher level of inclusive attitudes toward immigrants; in contrast, students who were in schools with a higher proportion of students from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds ( $b = -0.001, p < .001$ ) had a lower level of inclusive attitudes toward immigrants.

**Table 3**

*Multilevel Models Predicting Inclusive Attitudes Toward Immigrants (n = 456,035)*

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
<b>Main independent variables</b>			
<i>The number of types of GCE (ref: none of them)</i>			
One	0.068*** (0.007)	0.068*** (0.007)	0.069*** (0.009)
Two	0.133*** (0.006)	0.134*** (0.006)	0.133*** (0.006)
Three	0.267*** (0.006)	0.269*** (0.006)	0.258*** (0.006)
Intergroup contact	0.007 (0.004)	0.006 (0.004)	-0.008 (0.011)
Multicultural school climate		0.013*** (0.003)	0.006 (0.006)
<b>Interactions</b>			
One GCE × Intergroup contact			-0.001 (0.013)
Two GCE × Intergroup contact			0.006 (0.013)
Three GCE × Intergroup contact			0.027* (0.012)
One GCE × Multicultural school climate			0.004 (0.008)

Two GCE × Multicultural school climate			0.012 (0.007)
Three GCE × Multicultural school climate			0.008 (0.007)
<b>Student characteristics</b>			
Socioeconomic status	0.061 <sup>***</sup> (0.002)	0.054 <sup>***</sup> (0.002)	0.054 <sup>***</sup> (0.002)
Female	0.243 <sup>***</sup> (0.003)	0.242 <sup>***</sup> (0.003)	0.241 <sup>***</sup> (0.003)
Immigrant status	0.176 <sup>***</sup> (0.007)	0.173 <sup>***</sup> (0.007)	0.172 <sup>***</sup> (0.007)
Different language at home	-0.022 <sup>**</sup> (0.006)	-0.018 <sup>**</sup> (0.006)	-0.018 <sup>**</sup> (0.006)
Reading newspaper	-0.005 <sup>**</sup> (0.001)	-0.004 <sup>**</sup> (0.001)	-0.004 <sup>**</sup> (0.001)
Reading online news	0.052 <sup>***</sup> (0.002)	0.051 <sup>***</sup> (0.002)	0.051 <sup>***</sup> (0.002)
<b>School characteristics</b>			
Public school		0.044 <sup>***</sup> (0.009)	0.043 <sup>***</sup> (0.009)
Town (ref. rural)		0.021 <sup>**</sup> (0.008)	0.021 <sup>**</sup> (0.008)
City (ref. rural)		0.053 <sup>***</sup> (0.008)	0.053 <sup>***</sup> (0.008)
% low SES students		-0.001 <sup>***</sup> (0.000)	-0.001 <sup>***</sup> (0.000)
% second-language students		0.000 (0.000)	0.000 (0.000)
School size (log)		0.029 <sup>***</sup> (0.004)	0.029 <sup>***</sup> (0.004)

*Note.* Standard errors are in parentheses.

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

## Research Question 2

Following the guidelines of Heisig and Schaeffer's (2019) study, this study included a random slope component for GCE to see if there was cluster-specific variation in the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants across schools. The results of the LRT showed that the random slope model had a significantly better fit than the random intercept-only model, meaning that the relationship between GCE and

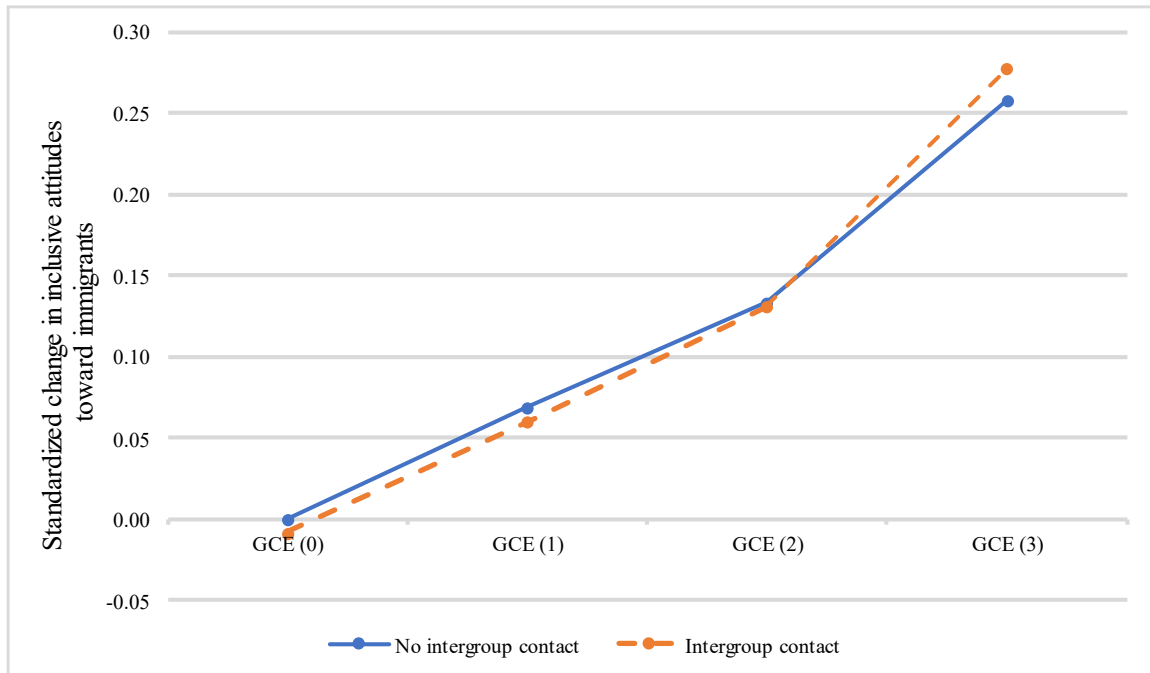
attitudes toward immigrants varied across schools ( $p < .001$ ). Therefore, the random slope model was used in the subsequent analysis and a series of interaction terms were included in the analysis while holding all other variables constant.

As shown in Model 3 in Table 3, this study tested the moderation effect between GCE and inclusive intergroup contact on inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. The results indicated that the positive relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants was stronger when students had intergroup contact at school, but only with three types of GCE ( $b = 0.027, p < .05$ ). It indicated that the effect of three GCE on inclusive attitudes toward immigrants increased by 0.027 SD with intergroup contact at school. In other words, the relationship between intergroup contact at school per se, or with one and two GCE, and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants was not statistically significant. However, this study found that this relationship turned statistically positive when students were exposed to three types of GCE. Figure 1 shows that the relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants is conditionally different by intergroup contact when students were exposed to three GCE. Although the difference was not statistically significant, students had less inclusive attitudes toward immigrants when having intergroup contact with up to two GCE, but this negative relationship was cancelled out with three GCE.



**Figure 1**

*Interaction between GCE and intergroup contact on students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants*



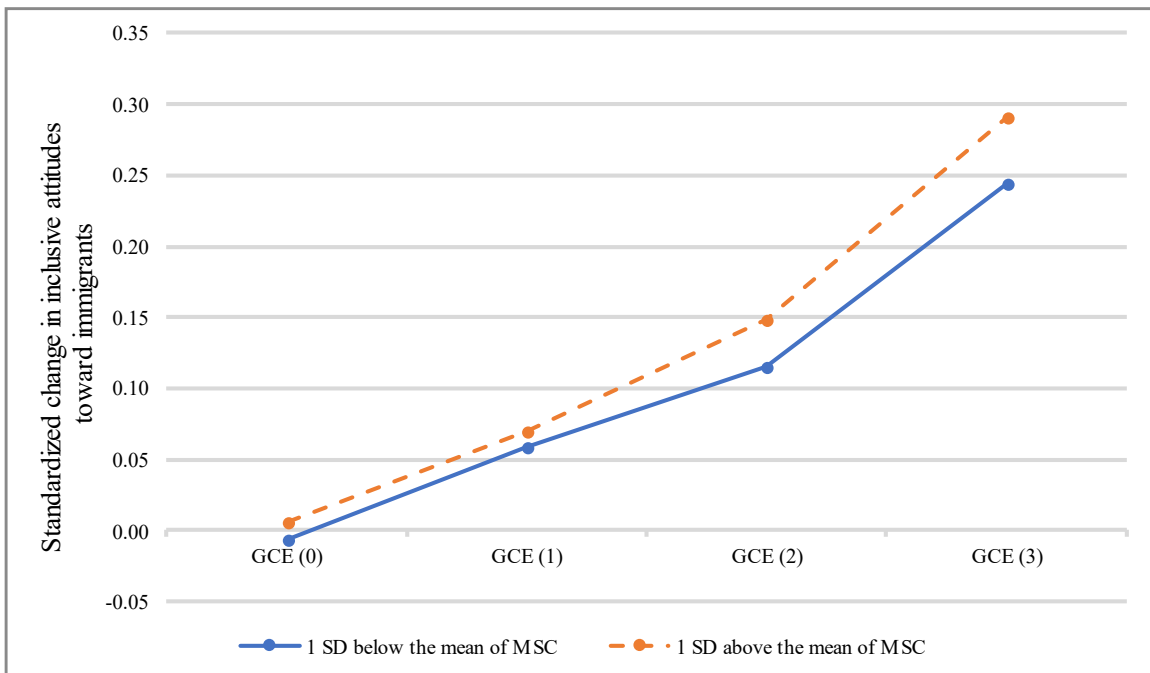
*Note.* GCE: global citizenship education.

Second, the moderating effect of multicultural school climate between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants was tested. However, this study did not find evidence that the relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants depended on the level of multicultural school climate, regardless of the number of types of GCE ( $b = 0.004, 0.012, \text{ and } 0.008, p > .05$ , respectively). In Model 3, it was also found that there was no conditional effect of multicultural school climate on inclusive attitudes toward immigrants when GCE was equal to zero (Hayes et al., 2012). As shown in Figure 2, the slopes of the relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants were slightly steeper at one SD above the mean of multicultural school climate than those

at one SD below the mean, particularly with two and three GCE. However, the difference was marginal, and the null hypothesis was not rejected.

**Figure 2**

*Interaction between GCE and multicultural school climate on students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants*



*Note.* GCE: global citizenship education; MSC: multicultural school climate.

### **Robustness Checks and Supplementary Analyses**

This study conducted several robustness checks to further demonstrate the robustness of the findings. This study did re-run the final model by disaggregating the participating countries/economies by the OECD membership and the continent while excluding the interaction terms between GCE and multicultural school climate because they were not statistically significant in the main analyses and because it allowed for

alleviating convergence problems (Bates et al., 2015). For the continent analysis, the participating countries were divided into three groups based on their continent: Europe (n= 31), Asia (n= 15), and the Americas (n= 10); Oceania and Africa were excluded since they had only two and one country, respectively. It is possible that attitudes toward immigrants and globalization are more or less of a concern in certain countries/regions due to macro factors, such as the economic prosperity and history of immigration (Gu et al., 2022). Thus, this study conducted the robustness check to see whether the results were robust to the level of economic development and the geographic region in addition to the country-fixed effects. The results were generally similar to those of the main analysis, except for the fact that there was no statistically significant interaction between three GCE and intergroup contact in non-OECD member countries, Asia, and the Americas. Across all robustness checks, this study found a positive relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants and showed that the magnitude of this relationship was greater with more types of GCE. The results are summarized in Table 4.

**Table 4**

*Summary of Robustness Checks*

	OECD members	Non-OECD members	Europe	Asia	Americas
<b>Main independent variables</b>					
<i>The number of types of GCE (ref: none of them)</i>					
One	0.078*** (0.014)	0.064*** (0.013)	0.065*** (0.012)	0.059** (0.018)	0.081** (0.025)
Two	0.142*** (0.014)	0.128*** (0.012)	0.128*** (0.012)	0.119*** (0.018)	0.153*** (0.023)
Three	0.237*** (0.013)	0.270*** (0.012)	0.245*** (0.012)	0.282*** (0.017)	0.240*** (0.024)
Intergroup contact	0.014	-0.025	-0.001	-0.032	-0.010

	OECD members	Non- OECD members	Europe	Asia	Americas
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.023)	(0.032)
Multicultural school climate	0.012** (0.004)	0.015*** (0.004)	0.013** (0.004)	0.015** (0.005)	0.011 (0.006)
<b>Interaction</b>					
One GCE × Intergroup contact	0.002 (0.019)	-0.005 (0.019)	0.011 (0.017)	-0.006 (0.028)	-0.035 (0.039)
Two GCE × Intergroup contact	0.004 (0.018)	0.006 (0.018)	0.004 (0.017)	0.026 (0.027)	-0.015 (0.036)
Three GCE × Intergroup contact	0.034* (0.017)	0.027 (0.017)	0.038* (0.016)	0.025 (0.025)	0.014 (0.034)
<b>Student characteristics</b>	O	O	O	O	O
<b>School characteristics</b>	O	O	O	O	O
<b>Country-fixed effects</b>	O	O	O	O	O
<b>N (Student)</b>	215,824	240,211	218,775	117,811	92,189
<b>N (Country)</b>	24	35	31	15	10

*Note.* Standard errors are in parentheses.

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

As a supplementary analysis, this study also re-ran the model by each country/economy. This supplementary analysis aimed to see whether each country showed similar trends in the results as those in the main analysis. This supplementary comparison is informative because it provides school leaders and education policymakers in each country with evidence of how effective GCE is in developing students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants compared to other countries. As shown in the Supplementary Appendix B, it showed, in general, that the relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants was statistically positive (at least  $p < .05$ ) with varying magnitudes. One, two, and three GCE were positively associated with inclusive attitudes toward immigrant in sixteen, twenty-three, and fifty-three countries out of 59 (at least  $p < .05$ ). In general, the effect sizes of three GCE was greater than those of one or two GCE.

This study found a significant and positive moderating effect of intergroup

contact in only a few countries: one country with one GCE, three countries with two GCE, and four countries with three GCE, while it was negative in Hong Kong. In the remaining countries, this study was not able to find statistically significant results for the moderating effect of intergroup contact. However, readers should interpret the results of the supplementary analysis with caution due to the relatively small sample size of each country, which may lead to Type II errors—failure to reject the null hypothesis when the rejection is actually true (Kline, 2019).

## CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

### **Discussion and Implications**

This study examines whether GCE is a significant predictor of students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants and whether intergroup contact at school and multicultural school climate moderate the relationship between GCE and the attitude. The research questions are examined using international data from PISA 2018, and a series of multilevel models with country-fixed effects are used to provide international evidence. In sum, this study finds a positive relationship between GCE and students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants and that this positive relationship is stronger when students are exposed to various types of GCE. This study further finds that this positive relationship is stronger when students have intergroup contact at school, only with three types of GCE. The findings of this study have significant implications for the literature and practice of GCE and the development of students' attitudes toward immigrants in the global society. The results of this study may benefit educational practitioners and policymakers in helping students understand and respect immigrants and their rights and customs, which may create an inclusive school climate where immigrant students feel valued and accepted by their peers.

### **The Role of GCE in Improving Inclusive Attitudes Toward Immigrants**

First, this study provides international evidence of the role of GCE in improving students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. In other words, this study shows that GCE can help students become more inclusive of immigrants and that students can benefit more from GCE in developing inclusive attitudes toward immigrants when they are exposed to various types of GCE activities. The results suggest that GCE encourages

students to acknowledge that immigrants should have equal opportunities in education and politics and maintain their customs and cultural values. This is a critical attribute that students need to develop in the global world as Ladson-Billings (2021) states “*all students will be thrust into a diverse, multicultural world where they will need to understand the culture of those different from themselves*” (p. 71). In a global world with increased international migration, students will have more opportunities to meet, learn, work, and live with people from immigrant backgrounds. This increase in diversity resulting from immigration does not always guarantee that students view immigrants as members who have the rights and equal opportunities in the destination country.

Unfortunately, cases of discrimination against immigrant students by their peers often make the news (Elsen-Rooney & Okwuosa, 2019; Keung, 2022). However, we hear little about ways to reduce discrimination and how schools can help students understand and respect immigrants and their rights. This study argues that schools need to teach students about different cultures and ways to respect and communicate with people from different backgrounds. This is necessary to prepare students to live peacefully with people of different national origins, cultures, and/or languages (Ladson-Billings, 2014). As GCE is a whole-school approach that incorporates its values and principles into teaching practices, pedagogy, and the learning environment, school leaders and teachers can incorporate GCE into their school systems and classrooms while emphasizing the importance of valuing different cultures and perspectives (Tarozzi & Inguaggiato, 2018). Aligning with the whole-school approach of GCE, the findings of this study suggest that schools ensure that students are exposed to various types of GCE activities to maximize its potential for promoting inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. This is both to

encourage students to become responsible citizens in the global village and to create a more inclusive school environment where immigrant students feel respected and valued by their peers (Zhao, 2009).

This study presents suggestions for the preparation and development of school leaders and teachers to be well-prepared for the management and implementation of GCE in school-wide systems and classrooms. Although GCE has been popularized by INGOs and national governments, it would not be successful without training principals and teachers to be globally aware, minded, and competent, which facilitates a shift toward educating students as global citizens (Estellés & Fischman, 2021; Hameed, 2022; Richardson et al., 2013). As Richardson and colleagues (2013) assert, “this challenge [of the global world] is exacerbated by the uncertainty of how best to prepare educators as well as leaders of K-12 schools for this paradigm shift” (p. 94). This study suggests that preparation and developmental programs for teachers and principals need to integrate GCE-related goals, objectives, and activities into their programs. Well-designed training may encourage teachers to effectively teach GCE in their classrooms and principals to play a role in promoting GCE in schools by building a vision of GCE and shaping a globally minded school climate (Hameed, 2022).

### **What is the Role of GCE in Intergroup Contact and Attitudes Toward Immigrants?**

Second, this study provides a novel insight into the relationship between GCE, intergroup contact, and students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. The results demonstrate that simply having intergroup contact does not necessarily lead to a significant improvement in attitudes towards immigrants. However, when students are exposed to at least three types of GCE activities, intergroup contact can facilitate the



development of inclusive attitudes towards immigrants. As Dorner (2014) argues, "because contact alone doesn't lead to understanding, we must find additional ways to build bridges and blur boundaries" between us and them (para. 9). Therefore, this study highlights the potential of GCE to function as a means of building bridges and erasing boundaries between the non-immigrant and immigrant groups. This study suggests that students may benefit from contact with people from other countries at school in improving inclusive attitudes toward immigrants *when* students are taught about other cultures, people and the ways to communicate with them. This finding contributes to the literature on intergroup contact, which has long been used to test whether intergroup contact improves attitudes toward outgroup members, including immigrants, and to identify what conditions (i.e., equal status, cooperation, common goals, and institutional support) are needed to bring about a positive effect of intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Pettigrew, 2016). This study adds another layer of conditions for positive intergroup contact by showing that GCE can complement intergroup contact to promote inclusive attitudes toward immigrants through learning about other cultures and people.

The findings of this study demonstrate that simply increasing/increased ethnic diversity of schools or desegregating schools would not result in positive outcomes with regard to attitudes toward immigrants without purposeful educational interventions (Choi & Lee, 2021). In practice, opportunities to meet people from other countries are not proportionately distributed among students, both between and within schools, due to homogeneous teaching staff and residential segregation (Lewis et al., 2015; Shum et al., 2016). Accordingly, policy efforts have been made to diversify the ethnic composition of schools, both in terms of the student body and the teaching staff, to achieve positive

outcomes for student learning (Freidus, 2020; Joshi et al., 2018). The results of this study suggest that diversifying the student body or the educator workforce may not be enough to improve students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. Schools must ensure that students understand and respect people who are different from themselves to view intergroup contact as an opportunity to be more inclusive of immigrants in a global world by providing educational experiences to learn about different cultures and others.

This role of GCE in facilitating positive intergroup contact and developing inclusive attitudes toward immigrants is timely and significant, not only because of the increase in the number of immigrants but also because of the increased tensions between immigrants and non-immigrants, which are occurring around the world (Ambrosini, 2021; Banting et al., 2022). Especially during and after the COVID-19 pandemic, xenophobia, anti-immigrant sentiments, and hate crimes against immigrants have been major issues worldwide (Silva et al., 2022; Yu, 2022). They further argue that educational interventions may be effective in preventing the negative consequences of the pandemic on attitudes toward immigrants. Although PISA 2018 was administered before the pandemic, this study highlights the importance of GCE in reducing the negative effects of intergroup contact and helping students benefit from intergroup contact in improving their inclusive attitudes toward immigrants.

### **Possible Explanation for Not Detecting a Moderating Effect of Multicultural School Climate**

This study was unable to detect a moderating effect of multicultural school climate on the relationship between GCE and students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. In contrast to the findings of the present study, school climate has been

identified as a moderator related to the strength of the relationship between students' learning and outcomes (Cohen et al., 2009). One possible explanation is that, unlike traditional notions of school climate, such as discipline and safety (Cornell & Huang, 2016; Sebastian & Allensworth, 2019), teacher norms and beliefs are difficult to embed and transfer into both teachers' instructional practices and students' attitudes because they are relatively intangible.

Such intangible aspects of multicultural school climate may be another explanation for this finding. In other words, the multicultural school climate shared by teachers is unlikely to be accurately measured by principals. That is, there may be a mismatch between the perceptions of principals and the actual beliefs of teachers about the shared multicultural school climate. In this case, there will be an attenuation bias caused by measurement error, resulting in smaller estimates than would be the case if multicultural school climate were accurately measured (Angrist & Pischke, 2014). Another possibility is that the measures being used may not fully capture what educators consider important when thinking about multicultural school climate. Drawing from the literature on multicultural school climate and/or culturally relevant pedagogy, future research could explore better ways of measuring this construct by asking more targeted and relevant questions. While these may be the reasons why this study is unable to find a statistically significant result, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions without further evidence. Future research could revisit the role of multicultural school climate in moderating the relationship between GCE and student attitudes toward immigrants by using a more accurate measure of multicultural school climate.

### **Limitations**

Despite the contribution of this study to our knowledge of the relationship between GCE and students' attitudes toward immigrants, it has some limitations that provide useful directions for future research. First, the variables used in this study are not perfect to capture all the detailed characteristics of GCE, attitudes toward immigrants, intergroup contact, and multicultural school climate. For example, since GCE includes a wide range of learning activities, the effectiveness of GCE should be interpreted limitedly to those used in this study. The intergroup contact variable also lacks more detailed information, such as the frequency and quality of intergroup contact. As discussed above, principals' perceptions of multicultural school climate shared by teachers may not be accurate enough to measure it, or there may be some discrepancy among principals, teachers, and students in their perceptions. Future research and statistical agencies, such as the OECD, need to collect more detailed and varied information to better understand the relationship between GCE and students' attitudes toward immigrants.

Second, although this study aims to provide international evidence by using PISA 2018 as much as possible, 20 countries out of 79 participants were not included in the analysis because they did not participate in the survey on GCE, attitudes toward immigrants, and/or multicultural school climate. It is certain that international organizations such as the OECD and the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement could not collect information on all items from all participants. Especially regarding the survey items used in this study, this may be because globalization, multiculturalism, and immigrants are controversial issues in some countries. The relatively limited number of participants may make it difficult for the results of this study to be representative of all nations of the world, as well as their

subgroups and regions (e.g., OECD/non-OECD and continent). Although this study makes use of all available data, there is a need to increase the participation of countries in these survey items to provide more international evidence.

Third, given the limitations of cross-sectional data, the results of this study should be interpreted as correlational rather than causal. In addition, although this study exhausts the available data to obtain rigorous estimates (e.g., including various controls, multilevel analysis, and country-fixed effects), this study is not entirely free from selection bias given the nonexperimental and cross-sectional design. In practice, participation in GCE activities and intergroup contact at school are not random. Future research needs to collect longitudinal data and conduct experimental studies to provide more rigorous evidence on the effect of GCE on students' attitudes toward immigrants.

Fourth, although macro and country-level factors may be related to the association of GCE with students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants, they were not within the scope of this study. To focus on exploring whether globally implemented GCE is effective in students' attitudes toward immigrants worldwide, the analysis of this study is based on within-country estimates by using country-fixed effects. However, the issues of globalization and international migration are associated with national contexts (e.g., cultural diversity, politics, and immigration policies). The robustness checks also suggest that there is some variability in the relationship between GCE and inclusive attitudes toward immigrants, which might be attributed to different national and macro factors. Future research needs to examine what national and macro factors promote or hinder the effectiveness of GCE on students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants.

Finally, research may conduct qualitative studies for a more nuanced

understanding of the relationship between GCE and attitudes toward immigrants and the moderating factors. For instance, qualitative studies may explore why intergroup contact at school is not associated with inclusive attitudes toward immigrants without engaging in various types of GCE activities and how students connect intergroup contact with learning from GCE. Building on the findings of this study, future research may provide empirical evidence for understanding such dynamics.

### **Conclusion**

Students are called upon to become inclusive of immigrants as global citizens in a global village. From the perspective of immigrants, they expect inclusive attitudes toward themselves from people in destination countries to maintain their cultural values and adapt to new contexts, environments, and schools. This study contributes to our knowledge of the role of schools in developing students' inclusive attitudes toward immigrants by providing international and empirical evidence of the effectiveness of GCE. The results of this study suggest that schools may use various types of GCE to encourage students to develop more inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. This study also highlights the importance of GCE as a complement to intergroup contact at school by leading intergroup contact to be a positive experience for developing inclusive attitudes toward immigrants. It suggests that when students are taught about different cultures and perspectives through GCE, they can take intergroup contact at school as an opportunity to become more inclusive of immigrants. Given the increasing number of immigrants in schools and the tensions between immigrants and non-immigrants worldwide, the findings of this study provide valuable insights into the role of GCE in helping students to grow as global citizens and in creating an inclusive environment

where immigrant students feel respected and valued by their peers.

## APPENDICES

### **Appendix A. The Participating Countries/Economies in the Current Study (N= 59)**

Albania, Argentina, Australia\*, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Brunei Darussalam, Bulgaria, Canada\*, Chile\*, Chinese Taipei, Columbia\*, Costa Rica\*, Croatia, Dominican Republic, Estonia\*, Germany\*, Greece\*, Hong Kong, Hungary, Iceland\*, Indonesia, Ireland\*, Italy\*, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Latvia\*, Lebanon, Lithuania\*, Macao, Malta, Mexico\*, Moldova, Montenegro, Morocco, Moscow Region, New Zealand\*, Panama, Philippines, Poland\*, Portugal\*, Romania, Russian Federation, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Slovak Republic\*, Slovenia\*, South Korea\*, Spain\*, Switzerland\*, Tatarstan, Thailand, Turkey\*, Ukraine, United Kingdom\*, Uruguay, Vietnam.

\* OECD members as of May 2021 (N= 24).



## Appendix B. Supplementary Analysis by Countries

**Table B1**

*Summary of the Supplementary Analysis by Countries*

Country	One GCE	Two GCE	Three GCE	One GCE×IC	Two GCE×IC	Three GCE×IC
Albania	0.125	0.104	<b>0.371</b>	-0.127	-0.021	0.001
Argentina	0.027	0.102	<b>0.256</b>	0.236	0.176	<b>0.265</b>
Australia	<b>0.202</b>	<b>0.329</b>	<b>0.373</b>	-0.103	-0.131	-0.059
Azerbaijan	0.022	0.135	<b>0.294</b>	-0.055	-0.063	-0.057
Belarus	0.099	<b>0.19</b>	<b>0.27</b>	0.002	-0.031	0.103
Bosnia and Herzegovina	-0.042	0.094	0.138	0.064	-0.028	0.16
Brazil	0.091	<b>0.171</b>	<b>0.256</b>	-0.069	0.038	0.006
Brunei Darussalam	0.147	<b>0.194</b>	<b>0.287</b>	-0.161	-0.088	-0.084
Bulgaria	0.054	0.038	<b>0.204</b>	0.001	0.081	0.021
Canada	<b>0.15</b>	<b>0.211</b>	<b>0.235</b>	-0.085	-0.072	-0.06
Chile	0.131	<b>0.179</b>	<b>0.298</b>	-0.057	-0.043	-0.096
Chinese Taipei	<b>0.246</b>	<b>0.35</b>	<b>0.355</b>	0.125	0.071	0.086
Colombia	0.149	0.181	<b>0.344</b>	-0.326	-0.261	-0.232
Costa Rica	0.004	0.114	0.168	-0.086	-0.101	0.023
Croatia	0.083	0.103	<b>0.185</b>	0.13	0.092	0.103
Dominican Republic	0.023	0.117	<b>0.238</b>	0.02	0.1	0.09
Estonia	0.09	<b>0.191</b>	<b>0.242</b>	-0.07	-0.037	-0.03
Germany	0.1	<b>0.231</b>	<b>0.328</b>	0.059	-0.047	-0.008
Greece	0.076	0.07	<b>0.221</b>	-0.022	0.023	0.037
Hong Kong	0.084	0.161	<b>0.238</b>	-0.145	<b>-0.227</b>	<b>-0.244</b>
Hungary	<b>0.108</b>	<b>0.224</b>	<b>0.306</b>	0.007	-0.002	0.056
Iceland	-0.025	0.012	0.075	<b>0.331</b>	<b>0.387</b>	<b>0.27</b>
Indonesia	-0.083	0.058	<b>0.214</b>	0.235	-0.016	0.079
Ireland	0.017	0.125	<b>0.184</b>	0.077	0.048	0.057
Italy	0.072	0.1	<b>0.328</b>	0.015	0.015	0.017
Jordan	-0.043	-0.066	<b>0.282</b>	0.253	<b>0.4</b>	0.252
Kazakhstan	<b>0.157</b>	<b>0.169</b>	<b>0.351</b>	-0.036	0.042	0.01
Kosovo	<b>0.43</b>	<b>0.421</b>	<b>0.596</b>	-0.354	-0.207	-0.178
Latvia	0.071	0.087	<b>0.17</b>	-0.072	-0.058	0.087
Lebanon	0.117	0.111	<b>0.213</b>	-0.08	0.075	0.07
Lithuania	<b>0.146</b>	<b>0.214</b>	<b>0.305</b>	0.004	-0.053	0.105
Macao	0.053	0.152	<b>0.289</b>	-0.006	0.034	-0.02
Malta	-0.053	0.024	<b>0.207</b>	0.184	0.195	0.204
Mexico	0.096	<b>0.201</b>	<b>0.221</b>	-0.066	-0.039	0.133

Moldova	0.133	<b>0.234</b>	<b>0.429</b>	-0.125	-0.192	-0.159
Montenegro	0.019	0.132	<b>0.193</b>	0.047	-0.055	0.055
Morocco	0.097	<b>0.155</b>	<b>0.275</b>	-0.072	-0.041	-0.036
Moscow Region	0.16	<b>0.262</b>	<b>0.248</b>	-0.206	-0.116	-0.033
New Zealand	0.009	-0.003	<b>0.193</b>	0.065	<b>0.229</b>	0.125
Panama	0.075	0.145	0.219	-0.009	0.027	0.116
Philippines	0.176	0.308	<b>0.451</b>	-0.165	-0.225	-0.094
Poland	-0.05	0.087	0.101	0.207	0.152	0.152
Portugal	0.173	<b>0.269</b>	<b>0.296</b>	-0.17	-0.234	-0.117
Romania	0.003	0.063	<b>0.213</b>	-0.055	-0.152	-0.155
Russian Federation	0.081	0.064	0.088	0.046	0.043	0.095
Saudi Arabia	0.156	<b>0.233</b>	<b>0.364</b>	-0.163	-0.187	-0.129
Serbia	<b>0.156</b>	0.132	<b>0.258</b>	-0.135	-0.025	0.012
Slovak Republic	0.085	0.123	<b>0.256</b>	-0.062	-0.004	0.078
Slovenia	-0.016	0.021	<b>0.227</b>	0.115	0.107	0.016
South Korea	0.089	<b>0.188</b>	<b>0.172</b>	0.105	0.084	<b>0.261</b>
Spain	0.084	<b>0.114</b>	<b>0.236</b>	-0.079	-0.034	-0.064
Switzerland	0.069	0.119	<b>0.293</b>	0.046	0.1	0.073
Tatarstan	-0.04	0.058	<b>0.206</b>	0.01	-0.045	-0.068
Thailand	0.142	0.08	<b>0.301</b>	-0.042	0.129	0.118
Turkey	0.003	0.031	<b>0.286</b>	0.054	0.013	0.048
Ukraine	0.087	<b>0.143</b>	<b>0.269</b>	0.166	0.129	<b>0.201</b>
United Kingdom	0.111	<b>0.19</b>	<b>0.266</b>	-0.044	-0.028	-0.003
Uruguay	0.019	0.068	<b>0.145</b>	0.12	0.222	0.178
Vietnam	-0.088	0.073	<b>0.264</b>	0.152	0.23	0.279

*Note.* GCE: global citizenship education; IC: intergroup contact. Bold indicates a statistically significant difference ( $p < .05$ ) compared to none.

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## VITA

Soobin Choi's research interests center around educational leadership and policy, as well as school organizations, with a particular focus on diversity, inclusion, and social justice. His research delves into how school leaders can aid teachers in preparing to teach students from diverse backgrounds, as well as how educators can foster students' cultural competence and global awareness. Choi's work has been published in highly regarded journals such as *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *AERA Open*, the *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, and the *International Journal of Educational Research*. He earned his M.A. in Sociology of Education from Hanyang University in Korea, and he was the recipient of both the G. Ellsworth Huggins Fellowship and the Donald K. Anderson Graduate Research Assistant Award.